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A N  
ACCOUNT  
O F  
POLAND.

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PRUCDA

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An Account of  
**POLAND.**

CONTAINING, 28  
A *Geographical Description*  
OF THE  
**COUNTRY,**

T H E

**Manners of the *Inhabitants*, and  
the *Wars* they have been Engag'd in ; the  
Constitution of that Government ; Parti-  
cularly the Manner of *Electing* and *Crown-*  
*ing* their KING ; his Power and Preroga-  
tives : With a Brief *History* of the *Tartars*.**

By Montieur *Hauteville*, who Resided about  
25 Years in that Kingdom.

To which is Added,

A *Chronology* of the *Polish* KINGS ; the AB-  
DICAT I O N of KING *John Casimir* ; and the  
Rise and Progress of *SOCINIANISME*.

Likewise a Relation of the Chief Passages during the  
Last *Interregnum* ; and the *Election* and *Coronation* of the  
New KING *Frederic Augustus*.

The Whole Comprehending whatsoever is Curious and  
Worthy of Remark in the Former and Present State of  
P O L A N D.

London, Printed for T. Goodwin at the Queens-head in Fleet-  
street, and H. Newman at the Grasshopper in the Poultry, 1698.

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To His  
EXCELLENCY

The Earl of  
GALLWAY,

Lieutenant General of the King's Armies, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, and General of His Majesty's Forces in that Kingdom.

My Lord,

**T**His Treatise I make bold to Present to your Excellency; and I hope the Consideration of the Subject it Treats of, will make Attonement for the Freedom of it. The Republick of Poland is justly Ranked amongst the Greatest Dominions in the World; and the Dispute between Two Great Princes, who both Pretend to the CROWN, draws all the Eyes of Europe on that side: Therefore, I hope, that tho' your Excellency is Perfectly Acquainted with the Laws and Constitutions of all the States in Christendom, yet you will please Favourably to Receive this Book, which, I think, gives an Exact Account of Poland, and of the Pretensions of the Two Illustrious Rivals, who Dispute that Throne.

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

However, I design not to Prepossess the World in Favour of this Book, by the Prefixing of your Illustrious Name to it ; I know I could never make choice of a Better Protector ; but I only intend to give your Excellency a Publick Mark of my Profound Respect.

Neither did I propose to my self to make the Eulogy of the Great Virtues, which are so conspicuous in your Excellency, such an Undertaking is above Vulgar Pens, and too great to be Treated in the narrow bounds of an Epistle Dedicatory. Whoever attempts that, must give a Relation of the Sieges of Candia, Athlone, Galway, Limerick and Cazal ; Describe the Bloody Battels of Aghrim and Landen ; Relate the Important Negotiations committed to your care, speak of the Prudence, Intrepidity, and Bravery you have expressed in the greatest Dangers, and commend, in Terms suitable to the Subject, that admir'd Penetration and Sagacity of your Excellency, which discover'd the Secret Intreagues of a Court, notwithstanding the most refin'd Dissimulation that ever Italy made use of. These great Qualities are so well known, that Envy and Jealousie are forced to be silent, and dare not attack a Merit esteem'd by all the Princes of Europe, and admir'd by all the World.

I am afraid that I should displease your Excellency by proceeding any farther on this Subject, yet I would beg leave to observe, that these great Vertues are hereditary in your Excellency, and not the effect only of an happy Education. My Lord Marquiss of Ruvigny, your Father, was  
equally

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

*equally fit for Council and Action. His great Courage and Prudence raised him to the Dignity of Lieutenant General of the Armies of the French King, and would have certainly advanc'd him to that of Marechal of France, had not his Religion, been an Invincible, tho' Glorious Obstacle to it. Every body own'd he deserv'd that Great Trust, and his Prince thought he had no Subject in his Kingdom so fit to Represent His Person in the Courts of the greatest Kings in Europe.*

*Your Excellency will pardon me if I cannot forbear to carry the Parallel somewhat further, and therefore, my Lord, give me leave to say, That you are like him, Pious and Charitable: You both Generously quitted a Great Estate; and a private Life, with the Testimony of a good Conscience, had more Charms with you, than all the Dignities and Dazling Splendor of a Court. You are, as he was, Sensible of the Miseries of the Poor: They had always Access to your Person, and were never sent back without Relief: The Widows and Orphans find in your Excellency what they have lost, and the Prayers of so many Relieved People sent up to Heaven, fall down again upon your Excellency in Showers of Blessings.*

*But what shall I say of the Vertues of my Lady Marchioness your Mother? It is impossible to draw her Character, without Exhausting all the Qualifications ascribed by Solomon to his Virtuous Woman.*

*The Merit of your Excellency is so generally known, that England and Ireland have Applauded*

## The. Epistle Dedicatory.

*plauded the Choice His Majesty made of you to be one of the Lord Justices of Ireland; and every body agrees, that the Titles and Employments Conferr'd upon your Excellency, are not so much the effect of His Majesty's Favour, as the just Reward of your Eminent Virtue and Services.*

*That your Excellency may long enjoy that unspotted Fame, will be the Constant Prayers of*

My Lord,

Your Excellency's

most Humble,

and most obedient

Servant

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T H E  
P R E F A C E.

**T**HE Dispute about the Crown of *Poland*, makes now such a Noise in the World, that 'tis Believ'd an Account of that Country cannot but be Acceptable to the Ingenious Reader.

This Book, which is offer'd to your Consideration, is not Extracted out of several *Authors*, as most Accounts commonly are; but contains the Observations of a Person of Quality, who Resided 25 Years in *Poland*, and had an Opportunity of Informing himself of every thing worthy a Gentleman's Curiosity; being very Intimate with the *Ministers*, and all the Great Men of that *Kingdom* \*.

Though *Poland* is not very Remote from us, yet one may say, it is almost unknown, few Persons going thither to Travel. However, it deserves our Curiosity, it being one of the most Ancient States of the World, the only one which has Preserved and Maintain'd the Right of Electing their Monarchs, and indeed the only one that was never Conquer'd.

The Original of the *Poles*, as well as other Nations, is very uncertain and Fabulous; but the *Sarmatians* are so Ancient, that there is still some Monuments at this day, that *Jupiter Belus*, one of

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\* See *Journaux des Scavans*, An. 1687. *Ephem.* 23. *Mois d'Avril*. Also the *Bibliotheq. Univer.* Tom. 7. p. 574. And the *Republig. des Lettres.* *Mois d'Aoust.* An. 1687.

## The PREFACE.

the *Assyrian* Monarchs, made War upon them, though Unfortunately. The *Grecians* and *Persians* were not more Successful against that Warlike Nation, nor even the *Romans* themselves. They had nothing to do with them till *Augustus's* time, who Beat them off of the Banks of the *Danube*. *Domitian* was very Unhappy against them; and, in short, it does not clearly appear, that any of the *Roman* Emperours penetrated into *Sarmatia*, no not *Trajan* Himself, though *Eutropius* relates, he received under his Protection a *Sarmatian* King. *Adrian* allow'd them a Yearly Pension; *Marcus Antoninus Pius* took a greater Care to Defend the Empire, than Inlarge its Bounds; and as to *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher, he was not able to Compass the Design he had of Reducing *Sarmatia* into a Province of the *Roman* Empire. *Maximin* had no better Success against them; and since his time the Empire declin'd apace till *Probus* reviv'd their Spirits again. This Great Man Subdu'd the *Germans*, and gave the *Sarmatians* so many Overthrows, that they were forc'd to quit the Territories they had Usurp'd during the Reign of His Predecessors. They were again Defeated by *Dioclesian* and *Constantius*; but it does not appear, that they became Subjects to the *Romans*. *Valentinian* Defeated them some time after, in such a Manner, that they were forc'd to quit *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*, and Retire into their own Country, and Began to Form a Common-wealth under *Lechus*, about the Year of our Lord 550.

They have preserv'd their Liberty ever since, though they have been often reduc'd to great Extremities; but they never paid Tribute to any of their Neighbours. 'Tis true, that their King *Michael*, *VVieznowsky*, had the Weakness to agree to Pay a Yearly Tribute to the *Turks*, but the States of *Poland* refus'd to Ratify the  
Trea-



## The P R E F A C E.

Treaty, and boldly Asserted their Right and Liberty under the Conduct of *John Sobiesky*, Grand Marechal of the Crown, who was afterward Elected King, and forc'd the *Turks* to Rendounce the Pretended Tribute that *Michael* had Promis'd them.

The Nobility of *Poland* is so Numerous and Brave, that it seems Morally Impossible to Conquer their Country, so long as they are well United; and the Surprising Progress of *Charles Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, who, in Three Months Time, Conquer'd almost that Kingdom, signifies nothing in this Case, for that Prince was called in by some of the *Polanders* themselves, and the others would not Fight for their King. The Precipitated Retreat of the *Swedes*, when the *Poles* Returned to their Duty, sheweth, how little they were able to Conquer *Poland*. But I leave off this Subject to speak a word as to this Book.

The First Part giving an Account of the Constitution of the *Polish* Government, of the State of *Poland* in respect to its Neighbours; of the Prerogative of their Kings; of their *Dyets*, *Customs*, *Manners*, *Ceremonies*, *Religion*, *Coyns*, &c.—is Owing to a Person of Quality who has Resided many years in that Kingdom, and who, by reason of his Merit, as well as Character, could better inform himself of the Matters he Treats of, than Men of ordinary Birth and Capacity.

The Appendix containing a *Chronological Abridgment* of the Kings of *Poland*, some farther Remarks on the Government of that Kingdom, the Instrument of the Abdication of King *John Casimir*, the Rise, Progress, and Destruction of the *Socinians*, is partly abstracted from History, and Private Memoires of Persons that may be depended upon.

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## *The* P R E F A C E.

The Account of the late *Interregnum*, and the Election of *Frederick Augustus*, is grounded upon the best Intelligence, that it was possible to have from *Poland*, considering the Confusion of the Affairs of that Country; and the Pretentions of the Competitors, are stated and related as they have been communicated by the Eye-witnesses of those Transactions.

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T H E

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THE  
**Present State**  
 OF  
**P O L A N D.**

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CHAP. I.

*Of the Constitution of the Polish Government,  
 and the Principal Officers of State.*

**P**OLAND is a Republic compos'd of two Estates; the Crown, and the great Dutchy of *Lithuania*.

The Crown is properly the Kingdom of *Poland*; and the great Dutchy of *Lithuania* was United to

it in the Year 1386. by the Duke *de Jagillon*, who embrac'd the Christian Religion that he might marry *Hedwige*, Daughter to *Lewis* King of *Poland* and *Hungary*, and who with his Religion changed also his Name, and was called *Vladislans*. For the *Polanders* were Christians long before, having received the Faith of *Christ*, ann. 964, in the Reign of *Miecislans* I. who after he had divorced seven *Pagan* Wives, was converted, and marry'd

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the Daughter of *Boleslaus* King of *Bohemia*, who was a Christian.

These two Estates are contiguous to one-another, and are now but one Body, being united in the same Interest, under the Government of the same King, and in the Profession of the same Religion; especially since the Diet held at *Grodeck* on the River *Bug*, between the *Polanders* and the *Lithuanians* in the year 1413. where the Union was renew'd, and where it was concluded, that for the future they should have the same Laws and Privileges; and that the King should be elected by the joint Consent of the Nobility of the two Estates, which was ratified and signed by all the Senators of *Poland* and *Lithuania*.

Nevertheless they are governed by distinct Officers, each of them having a Grand Marshal and a Petty or Sub-Marshal, whom they call the Marshal of the Court, a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Treasurer, who are all Senators, those of the Crown for *Poland*, and those of the Dutchy for *Lithuania*, and are equal in Dignity and Power; only those of the Crown take place of those of the Dutchy.

The Office of the Grand Marshal is to keep the Peace, and prevent Tumults or Disturbances both in the Diets and in the King's Household, to punish Offenders even with death, and without Appeal from his Judgement, except in cases of great Importance, which may be brought before the King. He has also Power to command Silence, to give leave to speak, to introduce Ambassadors, to appoint them their Lodgings, and to fix the prices of all Commodities and Merchandizes. This last Branch of his Authority is extremely advantageous to him: for the Merchants give him very Considerable Presents, that they may have leave to sell their Goods at exorbitant Rates.

The



The Chancellors and the Vice-Chancellors of the Crown are chosen by turns out of the Clergy and Laity: But those of the Dutchy are always Lay-men. The Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor make use of the same Seals, and either of them may be used indifferently; for they have both an equal Authority, only the latter gives place to the former, and never gives judgement but in his absence. The Chancellor, by his Office is the Judge of all Civil Affairs, and matters relating to the Kings Revenue. 'Tis also his Duty to take Care that nothing be done contrary to the Laws, or Injurious to the Liberty of the People, and that the Intrigues of Foreigners may not be prejudicial to the Republick.

The Authority of the Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors is so great, that in several cases they may affix their Seals, without the Kings Order, and refuse to seal such things for him as are contrary to the Constitutions of the State. 'Tis the Office of the Chancellor, or in his Absence, of the Vice-Chancellor, to answer all the Harangues that are made to the King by Ambassadors; and he of the two who is a Clergyman, hath power over the Secretaries, Priests and Preachers of the Court, and over the Ceremonies of the Church.

The Treasurer is properly the Keeper of the publick Treasure, which is brought to him by four other Officers, who keep an exact Account of it, and are obliged to give one Copy to the King, and another to the Treasurer. His Office impowers him to prevent the wasting or embezzelling of the Revenues of the Republick, and of those which are appointed for maintaining the King's Table; and therefore he ought to sign all the Contracts the King makes, which otherwise would be void: He ought also to take care that the Republick do not sustain any damage by the

Contracts that are made for the Coyning of New Money.

When the Treasurer is called to an Account, the General Diet orders a Committee of a certain Number of Persons to examine his Accounts, and to give him an Acquittance, without which the Republick may still call him to an Account for the Administration of his Employment. And therefore since this Acquittance is of such vast importance to the Grand Treasurer, great Interest is always made about the Nomination of the Commissioners that are appointed to examine his Accounts; because he is obliged not only to entertain the Commissioners, but also to give them considerable Presents, to obtain his discharge.

The Petty or Sub-Marshal, or the Marshal of the Court, who is the last of the five Officers that are Members of the Senate, executes the Office of the Grand Marshal, in his absence; and in case of the Death or Demise of that Officer, he succeeds in course, as the Vice Chancellor is in such cases promoted to the dignity of the Chancellor: So that before a Man can be Grand Marshal or Chancellor, he must first be Petty Marshal or Vice Chancellor.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the Division of Poland into Provinces.*

THE Kingdom of *POLAND* formerly contained Fifteen great Provinces, which the King retains still in his Title, as King of *Poland*, Duke of *Lithuania*, *Russia*, *Prussia*, *Masovia*, *Samogitia*, *Livonia*, *Volhinia*, *Kiovia*, *Podolia*, *Podlaffia*, *Smolensko*, *Siberia* and *Czerniechovia*. But at present there are no more than nine Provinces

sub-

subject to the Crown of Poland, viz: Great and little Poland, the great Dutchy of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Massovia, Samogitia, upper Volhynia and Podlaffia, or Podlachia.

Great POLAND is so called, because Lechus, first King of the Polanders, settled his Residence at Gnesna in this Province. It is also called Lower Poland; and Posnania is the principal City. This Province contains eight Palatinates, viz. Posnania, Kalisch, Lencici, Brest, Inowlocz, Siradia, Rawa and Ploesko. It is bounded on the North with Prussia, on the South with Little Poland, on the East with Massovia, and on the West with Silesia, and the New Marquisate of Brandenburg. The River Warta runs through the middle of the Province.

Little POLAND, which is also called Upper POLAND, contains three Palatinates, Cracow, Sandomir and Lublin. It borders with Massovia and Great Poland on the North, Mount Crapat on the South, Black Russia on the East, and Silesia on the West; and the River Vistula runs through it. The City of Cracow is the Metropolis of this Province, and of the whole Kingdom.

The Starosta of Cracow is not only Governour of the Castle, but also the Defender of the Peace and of the publick Tranquility; which entitles him to a large Jurisdiction both over the Inhabitants of Towns, and the Gentry.

As for the great Dutchy of Lithuania; tho Jagillon began to unite it to the Crown of Poland, Anno 1386, and tho that union was afterwards renew'd in the Diet held at Grodeck, between the Polanders and the Lithuanians in 1413, yet it still retained its own Dukes, and was not entirely united to the Kingdom, till the year 1501, by Albert Duke of Lithuania who was chosen King of Poland. This Dutchy contains eight Pa-

*latimates, viz. Vilna, Troki, Bressici, Nowogrodeck, Minsk, Mseislaw, Vitepsk and Polosk.* It is a hundred leagues long, and a hundred and fifty broad; and is bordered by *Muscovy* on the North and East, by *Russia* and *Volhinia* on the South, and by *Samogitia, Prussia, and Podlachia* on the West. The chief Rivers of the great Dutchy are the *Niemen* and the *Dzwinna*.

The Province of *Russia*, which was united to *Poland* by King *Casimir* the Great, anno 1341, is bordered by *Lithuania* on the North, and by the Mountains of *Hungary* and *Transilvania* on the South; It has Upper *Volhinia*, and Upper *Podolia* on the East, and Little *Poland* on the West. It contains three *Palatinates*, *Leopold*, *Chelm* and *Belch*; the principal River that runs thro' it, is the *Bugg*.

*Pokutia* which is part of the *Palatinate* of *Leopold*, is a small Country border'd on the North with the *Niester*, and on the South with the *Carpathian Mountains*. It was sold to *Poland*, with the Towns of *Sniatyn*, and *Kolomey* upon the River *Prut*, by *Alexander* Palatin of *Valachia*, for 500 Ounces of Silver. The chief City of *Pokutia* is *Halicz*, on the *Niester*, whither *Lewis* King of *Poland* and *Hungary* transferred the Archbishoprick of *Leopold*, anno 1375, with a design to joyn *Russia*, *Podolia* and *Pokutia* to *Hungary*, because of their fertility. But the whole *Polish* Nobility took up Arms to oppose that Enterprize, and made so much noise about it in the Diet, that the Archbishoprick was restored to *Leopold*.

*Prussia* is bounded on the North with the *Baltick* Sea, on the South with Great *Poland* and *Masovia*, on the East with *Lithuania*, and on the West with *Pomerania*. The Kingdom of *Poland* was long harass'd with a cruel and bloody War, about the possession of this Province: For when the Knights of

of the *Teutonic* Order were driven out of *Syria* by the *Saracens*, they were received by *Conrade* Duke of *Prussia* and Brother to *Lesus* King of *Poland*, who finding himself unable to defend his Country against the continual Incurſions of the Idolatrous *Prussians*, called in those Knights to his Assistance in the year 1228, promising them half of what they could Conquer in *Prussia*, and in the mean time putting 'em in possession of the Province of *Culm*, till they should be able to make themselves Masters of some part of the Country. This was the fatal Spring of all the Differences which engag'd *Poland* in a War that was carryed on with so Obstinate a Fury: For the Knights of the *Teutonic* Order, grew at last so Formidable to their Neighbours, and by successive Victories rais'd their Power to such a heighth, that after they had subdued all *Prussia*, they gave many Battels to the *Polanders*, who could never utterly expel 'em, tho they sometimes obtain'd considerable Victories over them, as in the Battel which *Jagillon* fought against *Grunwald* and *Tanneberg*, in the Year 1400.

In the mean time the *Teutonic* Knights were so proud of their new Conquests, that forgetting their Original, and scorning the humble and familiar Name of *Brother*, with which their Religious Constitution oblig'd 'em to content themselves, they began openly to claim the Title of *Lords*, notwithstanding the pious Zeal of their great Master *Ulric*, who endeavour'd to oppose so scandalous an Innovation. And tho they were frequently beaten by the *Polanders*, they ceased not to continue the War, because they were assisted by the *Emperors*, and by the Princes of the House of *Austria*.

'Tis certain, that the *Austrian* Family cou'd never endure that the *Polanders* shou'd recover *Prussia*; as it appears by the following Instance.

When *Sigismund* K. of *Poland* sent Ambassadors to the Dyet at *Augsburg*, Anno 1530, to justify his Pretensions to that Province, the Difference was adjusted in favour of *Poland*; but the Execution of it being left to the Emperor *Charles V*, the Resolution of the Diet took no effect.

These Knights assum'd such an absolute and independent Authority, that they would not submit even to the *Decrees* of the Popes; for *Lothicus* King of *Poland* having sent to *Avignon*, to complain, that these Military Friars had usurped one of his Provinces: the Pope order'd 'em to restore it, upon pain of Excommunication, but they had so little Regard to his Menaces, that they refus'd positively to quit their Possession.

Under the same *Lothicus*, the Chancellor of *Pomerania*, a factious man, and a secret Enemy to his Sovereign, plotted to deliver up that Province to the Marquess of *Brandenburg*; but he was taken, and put in Prison, before he could execute his treacherous design. Nevertheless, the King pardon'd him, at the Request of his Brothers. However, it seems the Affront he thought he had receiv'd made a stronger Impression upon him than the sparing of his Life; for not long after, he put several Towns of *Pomerania* into the hands of the Marquess of *Brandenburg*, and among the rest the City of *Dantzic*. In the mean time, one *Boyssta*, who was Governor of the Citadel of *Dantzic*, for the King of *Poland*, defended that place, and acquainted his Master with the present Exigency of his Affairs; but before the *Polanders* could come up to his assistance, he was oblig'd to call in the *Teutonic* Knights, allowing them half the Government of the Citadel of *Dantzic*, provided

vided they would defend it entirely a whole Year at their own charge ; by which means the Citadel was not only preserved, but the Town it self was retaken : But the *Polanders* had no reason to boast of that Success ; for their pretended Friends were so far from contenting themselves with the promis'd Reward of their Service, that they resolved to make themselves the sole Masters of the Citadel, notwithstanding the repeated Remonstrances of *Bogusla*, and the rest of the faithful *Polanders*. And this open violation of a solemn Treaty was the occasion of a bloody War, which created so implacable an Animosity betwixt the *Polanders* and their encroaching Neighbors, that the least Pretextence was sufficient to rekindle the Flame.

And afterwards, when *Casimir*, the Grandson of *Lothicus*, renew'd his Complaints against them, and prevail'd with the Pope to excommunicate them, if they would not restore that usurped Province, they slighted both him and his Excommunication. But at last, by the Peace which was concluded betwixt *Casimir* and the Order, it was agreed upon, That the Great Master should be acknowledg'd as a Prince and Senator of the Republick under the Protection and Dominion of *Poland*. Some time after, the Province was divided into two Parts, call'd the *Royal* and *Ducal Prussia*. *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, Great Master of the *Tentonic* Order, having turn'd *Lutheran*, and being married, fix'd his Residence in this Province ; and *Sigismund* yielded up to him the *Ducal Prussia*, on condition that he should remain a Vassal to *Poland* : And by the Peace of *Oliva*, made in the Year 1660, the Sovereignty of *Ducal Prussia* was finally yielded up to the Elector of *Brandenburg*.

Thus

Thus, at present, 'tis only the Royal *Prussia* that ought to be reckon'd a Province of *Poland*; and even tho' it belongs to the Republic, 'tis govern'd by its own Laws, and enjoys particular Privileges: They have a peculiar Treasury, and a Treasurer; and when the King summons the *Arrierban*, the Nobility are not obliged to go beyond the Frontiers of the Kingdom. This Province is divided into three Palatinates, *Culm*, *Marienburg*, and *Pomerania*. Its chief Cities are *Thorn* upon the *Vistula*, *Elbing*, a league from *Frischlaß*, and *Dantzic*, which is the most considerable of 'em all, and the capital City of the Palatinate of *Pomerania*, which comprehends all the Country Westward of the *Vistula*, to the Confines of *Germany*.

Upon the Coast of *Prussia* the Waves of the Sea cast Amber upon the Shore, which the Fishermen take up in Nets. It is soft at first, but soon after grows so hard, that it may be turned or engraved, and cut into all sorts of Figures. 'Tis also found in certain great Lakes in the same Province, especially in the Bishoprick of *Warmia*. There are also many Lakes that abound with Fish, almost in every part of the Country. In the Palatinate of *Marienburg* there is the Lake of *Drausen*, which sends forth the River *Elbing*, that discharges it self in the *Frischlaß*, which is a Bay or Gulf of the *Baltick* Sea, about twenty leagues in length, and two in breadth. In the Palatinate of *Pomerania* there is a Lake betwixt *Konitz* and *Schochaw*, which is seven leagues long, and five broad, and is the head of the River *Bro*, which falls into the *Vistula* about four leagues above *Culm*. There are also three other almost as large as the former in the same Palatinate, near the City of *Dantzic*; and both the Palatinate of *Culm* and the Bishoprick of *Warmia*, are so full of

Lakes,



Lakes, that it would be almost an endless Labour to mention every one of them particularly.

*Massovia* hath *Prussia* on the North, little *Poland* on the South, *Podlaffia* on the East, and great *Poland* on the West: The *Vistula* and the *Bugg* are the principal Rivers that water it. This Province began to be united to the Crown of *Poland* by *Ziemowit*, who was Prince thereof, in the Reign of *Casimir* the Great, but the Union was not fully perfected till the Death of the Dukes *John* and *Stanislaus*, in the Reign of *Sigismund* I. anno 1526. It contains only one Palatinate, which formerly took its Name from the Town of *Czersk*, but is now call'd after the Name of the Province.

*Samogitia*, or *Samojedia*, which is a Dependancy of the Dutchy of *Lithuania*, is border'd by *Courland* on the North, the River *Niemen* on the South, *Lithuania* on the East, and the *Baltic Sea* on the West. The Christian Religion was introduc'd into this Country Anno 1413, by the pious Care of King *Jagellon*, who took the pains to instruct those People himself, because they could not understand the *Polish* Priests. The chief Towns in *Samogitia* are *Rosienia* on the River *Dubissa*, and *Miednich*; There are no Palatinates here, but the Province is divided into several *Starosties*, or Governments of Castles, and the first *Starosta* is a Senator.

Since *Courland* depends upon *Poland*, and is the Frontier of *Samogitia*, it will not be improper to give a short account of it here. 'Tis divided into two parts, *Courland* and *Semigallia*; the River *Dzwina* separates it from *Livonia* on the North; 'tis bounded with *Samogitia* on the South, *Lithuania* on the East, and the *Baltic Sea* on the West. This Country has been subject to a Prince who is a Vassal and Feudatory of *Poland*, since the Year 1561, that *Godfrey Kettler*, great Master of

of the *Teutonic Knights* in *Livonia*, having voluntarily resign'd his Office, put all *Livonia*, with the Town of *Riga*, the capital City of the Province, into the hands of *Nicholas Radziwill*, in the Name of *Sigismund Augustus*, who gave him *Courland* and *Semigallia*, which were then reckon'd part of *Livonia*, on Condition that he should remain a Vassal to the Crown of *Poland*. The City of *Mittau* in *Semigallia*, is at present the Metropolis of that little State, and the Residence of the Duke.

Upper *Volhynia* reaches from *Polesia* on the North to upper *Podolia* on the South, and from lower *Volhynia* on the East to black *Russia* on the West. Its chief Cities are *Lucko*, or *Lusuck*, or *Luceowia*, on the River *Ster*; and *Kremieniec*, which is situated upon an Eminence, on the Bank of the River *Izwa*, about eight leagues from *Luceowia*, towards the South.

The Province of *Podlachia*, which was united to *Poland* in the Year 1569, is bounded by *Lithuania* towards the East, and *Masovia* towards the West; 'tis ten leagues broad and thirty leagues long. Its chief Cities are *Augustow* and *Bielsk*, which gives Name to a Palatinate.

### C H A P. III.

*Of the State of Poland, with respect to its Neighbors; and of the various Success of the Wars in which it has been engag'd with 'em.*

**P**oland reach'd heretofore from the *Black Sea* to the *Baltic*, and from *Muscovy* to *Hungary*; but as all the States in the World are subject to great

great and frequent Revolutions, *Poland* has had its share in the general Calamity, and is at present confin'd within much narrower Bounds: For it may be observ'd in general, that every Republick is look'd upon by its Neighbors as a Country which they have a kind of Right to invade. And the same Remark may in a peculiar manner be apply'd to *Poland*, both with respect to the Manner and Constitution of its Government, and the insatiable Ambition of all its Neighbors, of which the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moscovites* are most formidable.

'Tis long since the *Turks* dismember'd *Valachia* and *Moldavia* from this Kingdom; and afterwards the *Cossacks*, being oppress'd by the Nobility, and restrain'd from their wonted Pyracies on the *Black Sea*, resolv'd to shake off a Yoke which they could no longer bear, and by that means gave the *Turks* an opportunity to invade *Ukrania*, in the Reign of King *Michael*, and to make themselves Masters of *Caminiec*, the capital City of *Upper Podolia*, and the only place of strength which the *Polanders* had upon that Frontier. That fatal War continued after the death of K. *Michael*, and disturb'd the Reign of his Successor *John III*, till the *Polanders* were at last constrain'd to make a Peace at *Zurawno* in *Pokutia*; for the Army of the *Turks* and *Tartars* was so numerous and formidable that Year, that it consisted of above 180000 effective Men; and on the other hand that of the *Polanders* was so weak, that they could not bring above 12000 Men into the Field, because they were depriv'd of the Assistance of a considerable part of the Forces of *Lithuania*, who were drawn together near *Leopold*, under Prince *Michael* of *Radziwill*, their General, but could not joyn the grand Army, because the Infidels had block'd up all the Avenues to the Camp; so that the General was oblig'd to continue at *Leopold*, with the Mar-  
quefs

quefs de Bethune, and the L. Hyde, Ambaffador from the K. of England, expecting the iffue either of a Peace, or of a Battel. Soon after a Peace was concluded with the *Turks*, of which the King immediately ſent an Account to Prince Michael of Radziwill, ordering him to communicate the News with all ſpeed to the Queen, who remained at Janowiecs, upon the *Viſtula*, over againſt Caſimir.

By this Peace the *Polanders* yielded up *Podolia* and *Ukrania*, which is the beſt Country within the bounds of their *Dominions*; for the Earth is ſo fat and fertile, that they never dung it; and tho' they ſow it but once in two Years, it yields a plentiful Harveſt of Corn every Year. *Aſparagus* grows in the untill'd Fields, and the Foreſts are full of Trees, which bear excellent Fruit. And beſides, the loſs of *Ukrania* is ſo much the more conſiderable, becauſe it produces abundance of Salt-petre to make Powder, which the *Polanders* ſtand more in need of than any other Nation, becauſe their Country lies open on all ſides, and by conſequence is expoſed to the Incuſions of many Enemies. This is the laſt and the greateſt loſs that *Poland* has ſuſtained in its Wars with the Port; ſo that the Kingdom is now bounded on the Eaſt with *Black Ruſſia*.

As the *Turks* and *Tartars* have an irreconcilable Averſion to the *Polanders*, becauſe of the great difference of their Religions, which makes 'em look upon one another as Beaſts; the *Moscovites* are no leſs Enemies to the Republic, by reaſon of the difference, or rather contrariety, both of their Inclinations and Religion; for all the *Moscovites* are Schiſmatical Greeks, and the *Polanders* are generally *Roman-Catholicks*. In the laſt War that was kindl'd betwixt theſe Nations, the *Moscovites* took from the *Polanders*, the Dutchies or Palatinates of *Smolensko*, *Siberia*, and *Czernichowia*, which

belong'd to *Lithuania*, besides that of *Kiowia*, the possession of which was only granted to 'em by a Truce, and not by any Treaty of Peace; so that the *Polanders* may one day endeavour to recover these Provinces, but they are so far from being at present in a condition to make good their Pretensions, that they prolong the Truce with the *Muscovites* from time to time.

In the mean time if we consider the management of the Wars and Differences betwixt these two Nations, it may be said, that the *Polanders*, with respect to the *Muscovites*, are the same with the *French*, in regard to the *Spaniards*; for as the *Spaniards* are not able to resist the *French* in the Field, the *Polanders* have the same advantage over the *Muscovites*, when they are not intrenched, even tho' their Army be much more numerous. But on the other hand, as Nature has given the latter less Courage, she has made 'em superiour to the others in Subtlety and Cunning. I might alledge several Instances to confirm and illustrate this truth, but I shall content my self with observing, that in the year 1581, King *Steven Battori* had reduc'd the *Muscovites* to such a straight, that they sollicit'd him for a Peace, which not being able to obtain of that Prince upon the Conditions they desir'd, they entreated the Pope to intercede in their behalf: So true it is, that they are ready upon all occasions to have recourse to Artifices, and leave no means unattempted to accomplish the Designs which they cannot execute by Force: For tho' (as I intimated before) they are all Schismatical *Greeks*, and do not acknowledge the Pope to be the Head of their Church, yet in their Necessity they scrupl'd not to implore his Assistance, and even gave him some Reason to hope that they might be prevail'd with to embrace the Catholick Faith. In the mean time the Pope gave so much Credit to their Insinuations,

ons, that he immediately dispatch'd *Anthony Possesvin* to *Muscovy*, and the Great Duke receiv'd him with so many Marks of a sincere Affection, as if he had been really resolv'd to become a Convert. But this was only an Artifice to amuse the Pope, that by the interposition of the *Nuncio*, he might obtain either a Peace or a Truce; as he really did : For, notwithstanding all the Advantages the King of *Poland* had over the *Muscovites*, he granted them a Truce for ten years, and restor'd all that he had taken from them ; the Duke of *Muscovy* yielding up to him, at the same time, all that he possess'd in *Livonia*.

But it will not appear so surprizing, that the *Muscovites* should sollicite the Mediation of the Pope, if we reflect upon the scandalous Methods they took to beg the Grand Signior's Assistance against *Vladislaus IV.* King of *Poland*, during the War in which they were engag'd with that Prince, in the beginning of his Reign, *Anno 1633*.

During my long abode in *Lithuania*, which borders upon *Muscovy*, I was confirm'd in my former Opinion concerning the Artificial Conduct of the *Muscovites*, by the many Instances which the People of that Country relate of the ungenerous Subtlety of their troublesome Neighbors. I was assur'd, that the *Muscovites* never invade *Poland* but when they see it engag'd in other Wars, and the Forces of the Kingdom employ'd elsewhere. The *Muscovites* had entertain'd an uninterrupted Peace with the *Polanders*, after the Treaty concluded with King *Vladislaus IV.* in the year 1634. by which they yielded up to him the Dutchies of *Siberia* and *Czernichovia*, with all the Land that lay within the space of One hundred miles beyond those Countries ; yet, contrary to the express Articles of a Treaty, which seem'd to be so firmly establish'd, as soon as they heard of the Irruption of

of the *Swedes* into *Poland*, in 1655. they enter'd into *Lithuania* with an Army of 60000 Men, and took the Town and Castle of *Vilna*.

But tho I have observ'd, that the Conduct of the *Muscovites*, with respect to their Neighbors, resembles that of the *Spaniards*; it must be acknowledged, that their Tempers and Characters are very different; for the *Spaniards* are civil and humane, and the *Muscovites* on the other hand are generally rude and unpolish'd, and extremely cruel; as it will appear by the following Examples.

King *John Casimir* having concluded a Peace with the King of *Sweden*, march'd into *Lithuania* with his whole Army, and retook the City of *Vilna*, the Metropolis of the great Dutchy; but the Castle made an obstinate defence, because the *Muscovite* who commanded in it was so cruel, that no man durst talk of Surrendering. Nevertheless, this is not the most remarkable Instance of his Cruelty; for he order'd one of his Prisoners, who was a Priest, to be put into a great Mortar, and shot into the Air as a Bomb. However, the Castle was at last reduc'd, by means of some foreign Officers, who finding themselves press'd by the *Polanders*, and fearing that they shou'd have no Capitulation allow'd 'em, seiz'd the Governor, and put him into the hands of the King of *Poland*, who caus'd his Head to be cut off, because of his Cruelty to the Priest. And when they wanted a Hangman to perform the Execution, his own Cook offer'd to do it, with his Chopping-knife, adding, *That he was glad of such an Opportunity to be reveng'd, for the ill usage he had receiv'd from him.* Accordingly he cut off his Master's Head upon a Logg of Wood; as if it had been a piece of Beef, and was forc'd to give him several Slashes before he could entirely separate his Head from his Body.

Stephen Battori King of Poland besieg'd the City of Polotsk in Muscovy, Anno 1579. and after a most vigorous resistance, the Besieged finding themselves unable to hold out longer, offer'd to surrender the place; the Capitulation was at last agreed upon, by the unanimous Consent of the Garrison and Inhabitants, except the Bishop and the Governor, who continually animated the Soldiers and the Burghers to make an obstinate defence, representing to them, that it would be more honourable to dye in the Service of their Prince, than to save their Lives by an ignominious Treaty. And indeed neither the Bishop nor the Governor would sign the Capitulation, but retir'd into the Church of St. Sophia, whence Steven Battori caus'd them to be brought forth, and committed them to the Custody of the Treasurer of Lithuania. When the Polish Garrison enter'd the Town, to take possession of it, and to receive the Stores and Ammunition according to the Articles of the Capitulation, they were surpriz'd to behold so many Marks of a horrible and brutish Cruelty, which the Muscovites had practis'd on the Polish Prisoners: they found some of 'em most barbarously torn in pieces, some half-boil'd in great Kettles, with their Hands ty'd behind their Backs, and others who had been miserably butcher'd by ripping up their Bellies: the Poles were so transported with Rage and Indignation at the sight of such a dismal Scene of Horror, that they would have reveng'd the death of their Countrymen upon the whole Muscovish Garrison: But King Stephen generously considering that no provocation could excuse the Breach of a solemn Treaty, restrain'd the Fury of his Souldiers, and sent the Muscovites back to their own Country, under the Convey of two Troops of Horse. I could easily produce many other Examples of this nature, but what I have



I have already said is sufficient to prove, that the *Muscovites* are naturally cruel.

I return now to that memorable Inruption which the King of Sweden made into Poland, with so much Violence and Success, that King *John Casimir* and his Queen *Louise Mary* were forc'd to leave the Kingdom, and to retire into *Silesia*; for almost all the Nobility, and even the *Polish* Army, had abandon'd them, and follow'd the Rapidity of the Conqueror's Fortune. But the *Polanders* afterwards being sensible of the Fault they had committed in forsaking their King, and those who had still continu'd faithful to him resuming fresh Courage, under the Conduct of the General *Czarnieski*, they by degrees expel'd the *Swedes*, who had made themselves Masters of the whole Country, and of the City of *Cracow*, which they had taken in three days. Thus the Kingdom was reconquer'd, and the *Swedes* were oblig'd to enter into a Treaty of Peace, which was concluded in the Abby of *Oliva*.

Princes are so apt to be jealous of a neighbouring Conqueror, that they are even willing to assist a former Enemy against the unequal force of an ambitious and successful Invader: For when the King of Sweden had made himself Master of Poland, at a time when the *Polanders* were engag'd in a War with the *Cossacks*, who had besieg'd *Leopold*, the *Muscovites*, who had also invaded *Lithuania*, immediately quitted that Duchy, and fell upon the *Swedes* in *Livonia*, in order to make a diversion; and the *Tartars*, who are naturally Enemies to all *Christians*, and in a particular manner to the *Polish* Nation, not only sent a potent Army to assist the K. of Poland, but forc'd the *Cossacks* to raise the Siege of *Leopold*, and to joyn with them in the defence of the *Polanders*.

And the same reason which induc'd the *Muscovites* and the *Tartars* to succour the *Polanders*, oblig'd the Emperor also to send them some Troops, but he made 'em pay dear for his Assistance; for the Salt-works being mortgag'd to him for some years, he caus'd so great a quantity of Salt to be made and exported, that the Works were almost ruin'd.

Nor are the *Muscovites* and *Tartars* the only troublesome Neighbours to *Poland*, for 'twill appear by the following Relation, that the Misfortunes of that Nation were in some measure owing to the *Germans*.

*Uladislaus Jagellon* King of *Poland* being engag'd in a War with the *Teutonic* Knights, who were Masters of *Prussia*, and having rais'd a powerful Army of *Polanders*, *Lithuanians*, and *Prussians*, was in a condition to overpower his Enemies, and to expel them utterly out of his Dominions; when the Emperor *Sigismund* of *Luxemburg* desir'd him to refer the Differences that occasion'd the War to his Arbitration, and in the mean time to grant the *Teutonic* Knights a Truce for two Years: *Jagellon* accepted the Offer, and disbanded his Army. But since the Emperor design'd only to gain time, that the Knights might be able to put themselves in a posture of defence, he was so far from taking care to adjust these Differences, that he was glad the *Polanders* were divided, fearing that after they had driven the *Teutonic* Knights out of the Kingdom, they would make a vigorous Attempt to retake *Silesia*, which the Kings of *Bohemia* had lately usurp'd.

King *Jagellon* perceiving that the Emperor had disappointed him, sent to put him in mind of his Promise; but, it seems, *Sigismund* had either forgotten, or was not willing to remember the Service which the *Polanders* had done him in the year

1414, when they oblig'd the *Turks* to restore all the Prisoners they had taken, and to grant him a Truce for six years; and that *Jagellon*, not only refus'd the Crown of *Bohemia*, which the revolted *Hussites* had offer'd him, but exhorted them to return to their Obedience to the Church and to their Prince. Thus without considering those important services, and without examining the matter, he gave Judgment against the *Polanders*, in favour of the *Teutonic Knights*; which so incens'd King *Jagellon*, that he dispatch'd one immediately to reproach him with his Ingratitude and Injustice, and to tell him, that he renounc'd his Friendship: Whereupon *Sigismund* endeavour'd to excuse himself, by pretending that he was impos'd upon by the Knights.

Tho' the Emperor knew that the King of *Poland* had just cause to be angry with him, he was so far from seeming to take notice of his Resentment, that he went as far as *Luccoria* to see him and his Uncle *Vitold*, pretending an earnest desire to be reconcil'd to 'em, tho' his real design was to divide 'em. He knew that the latter was a violent and ambitious Prince, and that his Nephew had intrusted him with a very great Authority in *Lithuania*, and resolv'd to make use of this Opportunity to corrupt his Fidelity, and inspire him with an Inclination to revolt. He insinuated, that a Prince of so much Merit ought not to depend upon his Nephew, but to think how to make himself at least his Equal; adding, That since 'twas in his power to erect new Kingdoms, as being King of the *Romans*, he would make him King of *Lithuania*, and send him the Crown, with all the other Royal Ornaments. To which *Vitold* reply'd, That tho' he wou'd not refuse the Offer, he cou'd not accept it without the Consent of the King his Nephew. As soon as the Emperor had receiv'd this

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Answer, he went to *Jagellon*, and represented to him, That for the Honour of his Nation he ought not to oppose that Design, if the Senate would consent to it.

The Senators being assembled for that end, and *Vitold* present, the Archbishop of *Gnelna*, whom *Sigismund* had brought over to his side, having made a long and confes'd Discourse, without coming to any certain conclusion, the Bishop of *Cracow* rose up in his place, and blaming *Vitold's* Design, with a great deal of Zeal and Boldness put him in mind of all the Articles agreed upon betwixt the King and him, and confirm'd by mutual Oaths, by which they had united *Lithuania* to *Poland*: That it was a Shame for a Prince of his age, and who had acquir'd so much Glory, to discover so irregular an Ambition, that would infallibly expose both the *Polanders* and *Lithuanians* to unavoidable Ruin; adding, That he ought to consider that *Sigismund's* Kindness was treacherous and fatal; that he ought to suspect a Present that was offer'd him by their common Enemy; that the Design of the King of the *Romans* was only to create a Jealousie betwixt him and his Nephew, that he might execute his Designs upon two divided Princes, which he durst not attempt while they were Friends; that he ought to set a greater Value on the Favours and Kindnesses he had received from the King his Nephew, and from the *Polanders*, than upon the vain and deceitful Promises of the King of the *Romans*; that the *Germans* never had any real Kindness either for him or the King; that they had often violated the Conditions of Peace agreed on between the two Nations, and that under the pretext of doing them good Offices, they had made frequent Attempts to ruine 'em; that he ought to consider that the King had prefer'd him before his own Brothers, by intrusting him

him with so great an Authority in *Lithuania*; that he ought not to be deluded by the pernicious Insinuations of *Sigismund*; and that he hop'd so wise and judicious a Prince would neither suffer himself to be impos'd upon, nor the Glory of so many illustrious Actions which he had perform'd to be stain'd by the treacherous Artifices of his Enemy.

This Harangue was applauded by the whole Senate, which so exasperated *Visold*, that he went out of the Assembly, after he had assur'd 'em, That since they did not think fit to comply with him, he would find some other way to compass his Designs. Thus the Senate broke up, and King *Jagellon* return'd to *Poland*, but *Sigismund* staid some time with *Visold* at *Luccoria*, after which he went immediately to *Hungary*, lest the *Polanders*, whom he had offended, should raise some Disturbance in that Country; and some time after he sent a fine Present to *Visold*, as a Pledge of the League they had enter'd into upon certain Conditions. The King left no means unattempted to secure himself against the Attempts of his Uncle, and to prevent the ill effects of the Advice which *Sigismund* had given him, to make himself Master of *Lithuania*; for he had receiv'd information, that he had enter'd into an Alliance with the *Temsonic* Knights, by the Emperor's Advice and Mediation. *Visold*, on the other hand, in pursuance of his Design, forc'd the *Lithuanians* to take a new Oath of Fidelity to him, and plac'd Garrisons in the Towns of *Lithuania* that border'd upon *Poland*.

*Jagellon* not being able to dissuade his Uncle *Visold* from pursuing the unnatural Resolution with which the King of the *Romans* had inspir'd him, and understanding that he was suddenly to be Crown'd, gave Orders to lye in wait for those who should be sent to him, and to surprize them

in their Journey from *Prussia* to *Lithuania*. And accordingly the Chamberlain of *Posnania* who receiv'd that Order seiz'd two of those Envoys on the Frontiers of *Poland*, viz. *Baptista Cigale* of *Genova*, and *Sigismund Roth* of *Silesia*, who were going to *Vitold* in *Lithuania*, and took from them the Letters which they were carrying to him. Those Letters were written to satisfie him, that a King of the *Romans*, or an Emperor, had power to erect new Kingdoms. These Envoys were also intrusted with Letters Patents for the erection of the Dutchy of *Lithuania* into a Kingdom. And besides, they were impower'd to treat of an Alliance with the *Teutonic* Knights against the *Polanders*.

The King having perus'd all the Letters, commanded the Chamberlain of *Posnania* to return to the Frontiers of *Poland*; for *Sigismund* was sending to *Vitold* an Ambassy of *Germans*, *Bohemians*, and *Hungarians*, who were carrying the Crown and all the Royal Ornaments to him, and were to pass by the next morning; but by that time they had reach'd *Frankfurt*, upon the *Oder*, they understood that the *Polanders* had block'd up all the Passages; so that after they had staid two months in that City, without daring to proceed on their Journey, they return'd to *Germany*. In the mean time *Vitold*, who had invited all the principal Lords of *Lithuania* and *Russia*, and the chief of the *Teutonic* Knights, to *Vilna*, to assist at the Ceremony of his Coronation, perceiving that he was disappointed, resolv'd himself to invite the King his Nephew to a Hunting match in *Lithuania*, hoping that he might easily perswade him to consent to his Advancement. But the Senate of *Poland*, who were acquainted with the goodness and easiness of the King's Temper, order'd the Bishop of *Cracow* to accompany him, that he might not



do any thing without his Advice. When the King arriv'd at *Vina*, *Vitold* pray'd him to consent to his Coronation, and not to envy him the Honour of wearing a Crown. To which the King answer'd, That he could not do it without the Consent of the Lords of *Poland*, who had sent the Bishop of *Cracow* with him, that he might do nothing without his Approbation. Upon which *Vitold* sent some persons to that Prelate to bribe his Fidelity, with Assurances of a magnificent Reward; adding in a flattering and obliging manner, That his Fortune depended upon him, and that he hop'd he would not prove the only Enemy to his Advancement.

Those who were intrusted with this Message had Orders to tell the Bishop, That he ought to consider what an Affront it would be to their Master if he should not be crown'd King; That he desir'd no more, than that he would suffer him to wear the Crown for a moment, and that he would quit it immediately: At the same time they assur'd him, that if he continued obstinately to oppose that Prince's Design, he would be his irreconcilable Enemy, and do every thing that lay in his power to dispossess him of his Bishoprick. But that Prelate resolving to maintain the Honour and Interest of his Country, and being equally Proof against Promises and Threatnings, reply'd, That he was sensible their Master deserv'd a Crown, but that he could not make himself Master of *Lithuania* without violating the Oath he had taken touching the Union of that State with *Poland*, and therefore he advis'd him to lay aside that pernicious design, which would be so far from being either honourable or advantageous to him, that it would be an eternal Reproach to him, and would hasten the Ruin of his Country: That he should not flatter himself with thinking that the *Germans* and

and *Tentonic* Knights would be his faithful Allies, since they were irreconcilable Enemies both to the *Lithuanians* and *Polanders*: That their only design was to weaken both the one and the other, and of most firmly united Friends, as they were, to make them become mortal Enemies, that they might be able to execute their Designs upon those two Nations, and make 'em the Instruments of their own Ruin: That the King of the *Romans* could not forbear discovering his treacherous Intentions, declaring with a kind of Ostentation, that He had cast a Bone between two Dogs, that they might worry one-another. *Vuold* was so mortified with this Answer, that his Grief threw him into a Fit of Sickness, and his Death, which follow'd soon after, broke the Measures which *Sigismund* had taken to disunite *Lithuania* from *Poland*.

I have insisted the longer upon this Story, to shew, that after the *Germans* had taken *Silesia* from the *Polanders*, they were still forming new Projects to weaken 'em. And from hence we may also take notice of the terrible Consequences of the mistaken Politics of some Princes who intrust their Subjects with too large a Share in the Government; for 'tis plain, that by an excessive Kindness to his Uncle, this excellent King was in danger of losing both *Poland* and *Lithuania*.

By the Peace concluded in the Abby of *Oliva* near *Dantzick*, the third of *May*, 1660, of which the *French King* was Guarantee, the *Polanders* yielded up *Livonia* to the *Swedes*, and the Sovereignty of Ducal *Prussia* to the Elector of *Brandenburg*; and as for *Silesia*, 'tis so long since they lost it, that they think no more of recovering it, for it seems to be one of their peculiar Qualities to lose the remembrance of their Losses.

Thus

Thus *Poland* is at present border'd on the North with *Livonia* and *Muscovy*, on the South with *Upper Hungary* and *Transylvania*, on the East with *Ukraina*, which belongs to the *Turks*, and the Duchies or Palatinates of *Smolensko*, *Siberia*, *Czernichowia*, and *Kiowia*, which are under the Dominion of the *Muscovites*; and on the West with *Silesia*, which belongs to the Emperor.

Since I observ'd that the Revolt of the *Cossacks* was the occasion of the loss of all *Ukraina*, and brought the *Tartars* into *Poland*, I must in the next place take a short view, of those two Nations; and, first, of the *Tartars*.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *Of the Tartars.*

**T**IS observ'd of this Warlike and Barbarous Nation, that they never Fight in Ranks, and that in their flight they shoot Arrows behind them; that their Poverty and their Swiftneſs makes 'em in a manner invincible; and that they ſeem only to be born to pillage and impoveriſh their Neighbours. They are deſcended from the great *Tartars* of *Asia*, and left Mount *Imaus* beyond the *Caspian Sea*, in the Year 1188. extending themſelves along the *Volga*, the *Tanais*, and the neighbouring places, and in that *Peninſula* which the Ancients call'd *Taurica Chersonesus*, and which is now call'd the *Crim*. This is the Reason why they are and have been known by divers Names; for thoſe who inhabit the *Peninſula* are call'd *Crim Tartars*; thoſe who extend themſelves  
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to the River *Don* or *Tanais*, which comes from *Muscovy*, and discharges itself into the *Palus Maotis*, are call'd *Nogais*; and both of them are call'd *Petty Tartars*, to distinguish them from the *Great Tartars of Asia*.

The *Crim* is divided into two parts, the Northern and the Southern: the latter is cut thro the middle by very high and almost inaccessible Mountains. The capital City of this *Peninsula* is *Cassa*, which is a considerable Port on the *Black Sea*, to the Eastward, which *Mahomet* the Emperor of the *Turks* took from the *Genoese*, in the year 1475. The whole *Peninsula* is but 78 leagues in length, and 40 in breadth. 'Tis border'd with the *Palus Sukamorzi* towards the North, the *Black Sea* on the South and West, the *Palus Maotis* and the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, which separates it from *Circassia* towards the East. It is joyn'd to the Continent by a very narrow *Isthmus* towards the North near the Town of *Precop*. After the year 1188, when the *Tartars* came into that *Peninsula*, it continu'd under the Dominion of one Sovereign Independent from the *Grand Signior*. But as Divisions among Princes is frequently the occasion of their ruin, so the *Crim* became subject to the *Turk* by the Animosities that happen'd betwixt two Brothers.

For *Machmetkirey*, Chan of the *Crim Tartars*, the Ally and Friend of the *Turks*, had two Brothers, who revolted against him; but not being strong enough to resist him, they put themselves under the protection of *Stephen Battori* King of *Poland*, and *Machmetkirey*, after he had several times in vain demanded them of that King, pray'd *Anurath* Emperor of the *Turks* to require 'em in his own name. The *Grand Signior* comply'd with his Request, and prevail'd with the King of *England* to send 'em to *Constantinople*, with an Ambassador

sador to assist at the Circumcision of his Son. But when *Amurath* had those two Princes in his power, instead of restoring them to *Machmetkirey* their Brother, he resolv'd to retain them as Hostages for his Fidelity, and by that means to keep him in a perpetual dependance upon the Port.

The *Grand Signior* being at that time engag'd in a War with the *Persians*, he desir'd the Cham of *Tartary* to assist the *Turks* in *Asia*, and upon that condition promis'd to deliver up his Brothers. Upon this Assurance *Machmetkirey* march'd ed from *Tartary* with a powerful Army, in order to assist him; but understanding, as he was passing thro' *Mingrelia*, that the *Turks* were totally routed by the *Persians*, he march'd back to his own Country, where he expected to find his Brothers; but perceiving that *Amurath* had disappointed him, he was so enrag'd, that the *Grand Signior* was forc'd to appease him with Presents, and to send Ambassadors to make his excuse for not performing his Promise, pretending, that he was afraid to send back the two Princes in his absence, lest they should have rais'd some disturbances, and assuring him, that he would put them very speedily into his hands. Not long after, these two Princes made their escapes from *Constantinople*, and by the assistance of some other *Tartars*, and of the *Muscovites*, rais'd a new War against their Brother, which oblig'd *Machmetkirey* to demand Succours of *Amurath*, who promis'd to furnish him with some Troops, but sent him none. In the mean time the Cham drove his Brothers out of the *Peninsula*, without the *Grand Signior's* assistance, whom he suspected to be the Contriver and Promoter of the Rebellion, concluding, that if he had not had such a design, he would have deliver'd 'em up long before, or at least would  
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have kept him so secure, that they could not have made their escape.

At the same time *Amurath*, who was still engag'd in the War with the *Persians*, sent to require *Machmetkiray's* Assistance, no longer as a Friend, but as a Master, and in a haughty and imperious manner; which so enrag'd the *Gham*, that he began to commit Hostilities against the *Grand Signior*, without declaring War. He besieg'd the City of *Cassa*, and press'd it so hard in a few days, that the *Turks*, who were not in a posture of defence, because they were not afraid of being attack'd by a Prince who was their Ally, had resolv'd to surrender it in two days time, if they were not reliev'd. Then *Amurath*, who was extremely alarm'd at so unexpected an Expedition, sent for one *Affan* a *Tartar*, whom he had kept a long time Prisoner, and who was said to be the Buffard-brother of *Machmetkiray*. He spoke to him in a very obliging manner, and told him, that if he would obey his Orders, he would advance him to great Honours; that the *Gham* of *Tartary* had declar'd War against him without any reason; that he was a Tyrant, and abus'd his Subjects so barbarously, that they were no longer able to bear his Cruelties; and that if he would undertake to invade *Crim Tartary*, he would furnish him with Money, and an Army to deliver his Countrymen from their inhuman Oppressor. *Affan*, who had never dreamt of exchanging his Chains for a Scepter, transported with joy at the prospect of so happy a turn in his Fortune, readily accepted *Amurath's* Offer: He was declar'd Viceroy of *Tartary*, under the protection of the *Grand Signior*, to whom he took an Oath of Fidelity, and to all his Successors in the *Ottoman Empire*; and afterwards having receiv'd the Golden Standard as a

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Mark of his Investiture, he departed from Constantinople with 40 Gallies commanded by General Ochiali, and arriv'd in a few days at Caffa, just as that City was going to be surrender'd to Muchickerry.

After he had reliev'd Caffa, he endeavour'd by Presents and Promises to gain the principal persons among the *Tartars* to his side, and to induce them either to kill the Cham, or to deliver him up alive to him. He found it no difficult Task to debauch their Fidelity; for the *Grand Signior* had furnish'd him with a great quantity of Money; and 'tis the general weakness of the Oriental Nations, that they are very easily brib'd. Thus having secur'd a considerable number of them, and even some of the Cham's most faithful Friends, he caus'd him to be massacr'd, with his two Sons, after which he was acknowledg'd Cham of the *Tartars*, and acquir'd the Esteem and Affection of his Subjects by his extraordinary Liberality to them. 'Twas thus that the *Crim-Tartars*, who till then were a free People, became Vassals to their ancient Allies; and, by the way, this may serve to shew us what success may be expected from an Alliance with the *Turks*.

The *Tartars* are naturally so barbarous and cruel, and of so haughty and imperious a temper, that they despise all those who profess the Faith of Christ, and look upon them as Beasts; so that when they obtain any Advantage over them, they impose insupportable Conditions upon them. Thus the *Tartars*, who inhabit along the *Volga*, impos'd very shameful and dishonourable Conditions upon the *Muscovites*, when they forc'd 'em to pay tribute to 'em, anno 1470. After they had ravag'd *Muscovy*, and subdu'd part of the Country, they made a Peace with the *Muscovites* upon these Conditions: That the Czar or  
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Great Duke should pay a yearly tribute to the *Tartars*, which he should be oblig'd to send to them on Horseback; that he should go himself on foot, with all the Lords of his Court, to meet the person who should come to demand the said tribute, even tho it were but a Postillion or Groom; that the Czar should, in a very respectful manner, present him with a Pot of Mares-Milk, to drink; that if any one drop of it should happen to be spilt upon his Horse's Mane, the Duke himself should be oblig'd to lick it off with his Tongue; that he should spread a fine Sable Furr under the Feet of him who should read the Prince of *Tartary's* Letters; that he and all the Lords of *Muscovy* should hear them read upon their Knees; and that they should blindly obey all his Orders, even tho he should command them to make War against the *Christians*.

In the Year 1226, in the Reign of *Boeslaus Pundicus*, the *Crim Tartars* made a terrible Irruption into *Poland*, over-run all the Palatinate of *Lublin*, and having passed the *Vistula* at *Zavichost*, ravaged the Country, and carried away a great Booty into *Russia*. After they had secur'd their Prey, they return'd to *Poland*, where they committed far greater Barbarities; and, as if the whole Kingdom had not been sufficient to satisfy their insatiable Desire of Plunder, they march'd as far as *Silesia*, where the Dukes of *Oppelen*, *Ratibor*, and *Lignitz*, having join'd the *Teutonic Knights*, and the Troops of *Great Poland*, resolv'd to attack them, but were themselves unfortunately defeated; and the slaughter was so great, that the *Barbarians* carried away with 'em nine Sacks full of Ear-rings, which they had cut from the *Christians* after the Battle.

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Some time after, in the same Reign, the *Tartars* return'd into *Poland* with a great Army, accompanied by *Leo* and *Romanus* Dukes of *Russia*, who tho' they profess'd the Christian Faith, scrupl'd not to join with its mortal Enemies. After they had over-run the Palatinates of *Lublin*, *Sandomir*, and *Cracow*, they retir'd into their own Country: but the Dukes of *Russia* being also desirous to enrich themselves with Booty, made Incurfions into *Massovia* and *Lithuania*, where *Boleslaus* defeated them; and *Romanus* was afterwards kill'd at *Zawichost*, a small City on the *Vistula*, about two leagues below *Sandomir*. But, as if those first Incurfions which the *Tartars* made into *Poland* had only serv'd for a Whet to their ravenous Appetites, they return'd again in the Reign of *Lesens Niger*, in the year 1279, with a terrible Army, and carried away so many Slaves, that having counted them at *Uloximirs*, a Town of *Upper Volhinia*, on the Frontiers of *Russia*, they found that there were Twenty thousand young Women among the Captives.

I might venture to affirm, that the *Tartars* have invaded *Poland* in the Reigns of almost all its Kings. In that of *John Albert* they made an Irruption into *Volhinia*, in the year 1493. And in the same Reign, being joyn'd by the *Turks*, they made such a dreadful Incurfion into that miserable Country, that after they had sacked *Premisla*, *Jeroslaw*, and several other Cities, they carried away above One hundred thousand persons of all Ranks and Sexes into Slavery, so that *Thracia*, *Scythia*, and almost all *Asia*, was fill'd with *Polish* Slaves.

The *Tartars* are naturally so hardy, that they swim over the Rivers in the Winter when there is no Ice; which, without doubt, proceeds from the Mothers washing their Infants with cold Water. They cross the great Rivers, such as the *Boristhenes*,

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after this manner : each of them prepares several Faggots or Bundles of Rushes or Reeds, which he ties to two Poles ; upon these he lays his Clothes, Arms, Saddle, and all that he intends to carry along with him ; then he ties this little Bridge of Fagots to his Horse's Tail, after which with one hand he takes hold of the Horse's Main, and whips him with the other, and in this equipage passes the River stark naked.

When the *Tartars* take the Field, to make Incursions, they agree beforehand, that when they are pressed too hard by the Enemy, they shall divide into several Parties, each of which shall retire by a different way, and that they shall afterwards rendezvous at a certain place. They take these Precautions, that those who pursue them seeing many tracks of Horses feet, may not know which to follow.

They are so afraid of being killed or taken Prisoners, that when they are press'd by their enemies, they fly with such an amazing swiftness, that having tir'd one of their Horses, they leap from him at a full gallop, upon the back of another, without dismounting : and if they find that they are still hotly pursu'd, they first throw away their Sabre then their Bow and their Arrows, and at last, without alighting from their Horse, they cut the Girths, and drop the Saddle, and by that means ease their Horses. If in their flight they meet with a Defile or narrow passage, they gallop thro' it with so much precipitation and disorder, that they ride over one-another, without minding those who command them ; no, not the Cham, who is their Prince : which is an evident sign that they are all extremely apprehensive of being kill'd or taken Prisoners.

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The Cham, who at present governs the *Crim Tartars*, is of the Family of *Gilercy*, and both he and all those of his Race are cloath'd in Silk, the Officers in Cloth, and the rest in Sheep-skins, with the woolly sides next their skin in the Winter, but they turn 'em outwards in the Summer, or in rainy weather. They wear no Turbans, as the *Turks* and *Persians* do; but Caps, like the *Polanders*: their Arms are a Sabre, with a Bow and Arrows; every one of them carries a Knife and an Awl, to make Whips and Straps, which serve to tie the Slaves, whom they take in their Incursions: they are extremely afraid of Fire-arms: their greatest strength consists in the swiftness of their Horses, which are very ugly, but never tire; and each *Tartar* has many of them, which he leads along with him; and they know their Masters so well, that they follow 'em when they fly, without losing 'em, or running away from 'em.

Their usual Food is Horse-flesh, which they like so well, that they prefer it before Beef. I have seen some *Tartars*, who were Prisoners in *Poland*, eat Horses that dy'd of any Distemper, and even devour the Head, Feet, and Intraills. None but the Rich eat Bread, and the rest live upon Milk, Millet, and *Turkey* Wheat. They are very lazy when they are in their own Country, but are extremely laborious and vigilant when they go abroad upon an *Expedition*. The poor kill no Horses to eat unless they be sick; and when they kill one, they give part of it to their Neighbors: they make a sort of Pudding with the Blood of the Horse they kill and the Meal of *Turkey* Wheat or Millet, which they reckon to be a very delicious *Ragon*. They eat but little Salt, because they believe it to be bad for the eyes; and since they are *Mahometans*, 'twould be needless to add, that they eat no Bacon. These are some of the most

remarkable Observations I made during my abode in *Crim Tartary*.

The *Tartars* are divided into Hords or Cantons, almost like the *Switzers*. These Hords are unequal in bigness, number, and strength; the greatest of them all is that betwixt *Kilia* and *Bialogrod*, which are two Towns, one at the mouth of the *Niester*, and the other at the mouth of the *Danube*. Next to this, the most considerable is that of *Oczacow*, a City and Fort, which the *Turks* call *Dziarermenda*, at the mouth of the *Boristhenes*: the smallest of all the Hords is that of *Kipozako*, which takes its Name from the River that runs by the Town.

The Cham of the *Tartars* never goes out of the *Crim* to take the Field; unless all the Hords march with him. There are also some *Mahometan Tartars* subject to *Poland*, who live in *Lithuania*, near *Vilna*, where they possess Lands, and work as the other *Lithuanians* do; they were establish'd there by *Vitold*, Uncle to King *Uladislaus Jagellon*, after he had expel'd 'em out of the *Lower Volhinia*. King *Jagellon* had also *Tartars* in his Army, when he routed the *Teutonic Knights* in the Year 1386. After this short account of the *Tartars*, I proceed to take a view of the *Cossacks*; and, first, of *Ukraina*.

## CHAP. V.

*Of Ukrania, and the Cossacks; with an Account  
of the Lithuanians and Livonians.*

**L**ower *Volhinia* and *Lower Podolia* are both comprehended under the name of *Ukrania*, which in the *Sclavonish* tongue signifies a Frontier, because those Provinces are the Frontiers of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, who are the most terrible Enemies of *Poland*. This is a very large Country, containing above 300 miles from *East* to *West*, and above 180 from *North* to *South*. *Kiovia*, situated on the *Boristhenes*, is the capital City, and was once one of the largest Towns in *Europe*; but it has been so often pillag'd and harass'd by the *Tartars*, that there is nothing to be seen in it, at present, but ruin'd Houses and Cottages, with a Fort in which the *Muscovites* keep Garrison. The *Boristhenes*, which is one of the greatest Rivers in *Europe*, runs thro' the middle of the Country, and receives all the other Rivers that water it.

The first Rendezvous of the *Cossacks*, who were originally *Russian* Peasants, was in the Isles of the *Boristhenes*, especially that of *Tamahovka*, from whence they spread themselves thro' all *Ukrania*, betwixt the Cities of *Kiovia* and *Czyrkassy*. At that time they liv'd only by Hunting and Fishing: they are call'd the *Zaporovian Cossacks*, because they inhabit along the *Boristhenes*, to distinguish them from those who live on the Banks of the *Tanaïs* or *Don*, which empties itself into the *Palus Meotis*.

*Stephen Battori* King of *Poland* was the first who brought the *Cossacks* under Military Discipline, and appointed them the City of *Trethymirow* upon the *Boristhenes*, about twelve leagues below *Kiowia*, for their place of rendezvous; for heretofore they had no Leaders, and were so far from observing Discipline, that they march'd rather like Freebooters than Soldiers. But from that time they began to make War against the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and gave them also occasion to make frequent Inroads into *Poland*.

In the year 1614 the *Cossacks* made such great and successful Incursions as far as *Asia minor*, that they took the City of *Sinope* upon the *Black Sea*, and struck a Terror into *Constantinople*; for they are so brave a People, that in the War betwixt *Sigismund III*, and *Osman* Emperor of the *Turks*, Anno 1620, four hundred of them, who came to serve in the *Polish* Army, carelessly straggling at a considerable distance from the rest of their Forces, were attack'd by *Osman's* whole Army, with which they fought three days, and defended themselves with such incredible Valour, that the *Turks* lost a vast number of Men before they could force 'em to submit: And after they were beaten, the *Ottoman* Army, which was very formidable, designing to hinder the other *Cossacks* from joyning the *Polanders*, attack'd them in their passage; but after a Fight that lasted eight whole days, they joyn'd the *Polish* Army in spite of all the Opposition of so numerous an Army; and, in a word, they did Wonders that Campaign. But after the Christians had gain'd the Battel, they threaten'd to leave the Army, because they wanted Bread; whereupon Prince *Vladislaus*, who commanded the Army of the King his Father, appeas'd them with a Promise of Fifty thousand *Livres*, which so encourag'd them, that they stole

stole secretly from the *Polish* Army, and attack'd and took the Baggage of the *Turks*.

The chief reason why *Osman* declar'd War against *Poland*, was, because the *Polanders* did not restrain the *Cossacks* from making Incursions into his Dominions. 'Tis true, King *Sigismund* was so unwilling to engage in a War with the *Grand Signior*, that he did all that lay in his power to oblige the *Cossacks* to give over their Piracies upon the *Black Sea*. But as soon as they found themselves restrain'd from pillaging, they turn'd their Arms against the *Christians*, on the Frontiers of *Russia*, where they were totally routed by the Duke of *Ostrog*; after which, under the Conduct of one *Nalevaik*, a man of mean birth, but of an intrepid fierceness, they invaded the Frontiers of *Russia* a second time, and march'd against the *Polanders*, over whom they obtain'd some advantage in the beginning, but at last they were routed, and their Leader taken and carried Prisoner to *Warsaw*, where he was beheaded. Thus it was in the Reign of *Sigismund III*, that the *Cossacks* began to revolt; but this Sedition was so happily quieted, that afterwards they did very considerable service in the War against the *Turks*, Anno 1620, as I intimated before.

After the Peace was concluded between *Poland* and the *Port*, the *Cossacks* not being able to give over their wonted Pyracies, embark'd on the *Black Sea*, in the year 1624, and went to the very Suburbs of *Constantinople*, from whence they carried away a great booty.

The next year they enter'd the *Crim* without King *Sigismund's* Leave, of which the *Grand Signior* complain'd to the Republick, as an Infraction of the Treaty concluded with the *Port*: And from that time General *Koniespolski* began to restrain

them from making Incursions into the Territories of the *Turks*.

The *Cossacks* not being able to endure such a Constraint, revolted a second time in the Year 1630, at the solicitation of a Monk of *Kiowia*, and defeated some of King *Sigismund's* troops; but General *Konieczpolski* surpriz'd them near *Perestaw*, a little City in *Lower Volhinia*, upon the River *Trubiecz*, about three leagues above the place where it falls into the *Boristhenes*, and after he had defeated part of their Army, the rest promised to send the Authors of the Revolt to the approaching Dyet.

*Vladislaus IV.* being chosen King of *Poland* in the year 1633, resolv'd to suppress the Insolence of the *Cossacks*; and for that purpose, in the year 1637, built Fort *Kudack* upon the *Boristhenes*, about five leagues below the place where the River *Samara* discharges it self into that River: but as a Dam that is built cross a great River, to stop the current of its Waters, serves only to spread 'em thro' the Neighbourhood, so the erecting of Fort *Kudack*, instead of restraining the *Cossacks* from making Incursions upon the Infidels, serv'd only to turn their Fury against the *Poles*, and prov'd the Occasion of a new Revolt.

King *Vladislaus* being inform'd of the disorders they committed, sent General *Potoski* to reduce them, who having oblig'd 'em to deliver up *Pauluc*, who was their Leader, with the other Officers, he sent them all to *Warsaw*, where *Pauluc* was beheaded in the year 1638, which so enrag'd the *Cossacks*, that they took up Arms immediately under the Command of one *Demetrius Timofzevits*; but they were quickly oblig'd to submit, partly by Force, and partly by Promises.

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In the Winter they cover their Bodies with rough Sheeps-skins, and are so hardy, that they endure Hunger, Thirst, Wind, Rain, Heat, Cold, and all the Injuries of the Weather with much less trouble than any other People. When they made Incursions upon the *Black Sea*, they did not use Boats or Vessels, like other Pyrates, but the large hollow trunks of a certain Tree about sixty foot long: Into each of these trunks they put fifty Men arm'd, not with Bows and Arrows like the *Tartars*, but with Muskets, with which they shoot so just, that they seldom miss the Mark. When they embark'd upon any Expedition, they prohibited, under severe penalties, the taking in of any intoxicating Liquor, lest Drunkenness should enervate them, and so render them incapable of putting their Designs in execution.

When they encamp, they do not raise Trenches, but place their Carts round 'em; and in the midst of this Enclosure, which they call *Tabor*, they defend themselves with an incredible Obstinacy. Their Troops are divided into Regiments of Seven or Eight thousand men each, so that they have very few Officers, in which they differ very much from other Nations, who are generally perswaded that the strength of an Army consists in the multitude of Officers.

One of the causes of their Revolt, was the change of Religion, which the Lords of *Poland* would have introduc'd into *Ukrania* and *Russia*, where all the People adher'd to the Greek Church. For, the *Polanders* finding that they would not be prevail'd with to embrace the *Romish* Religion, had recourse to violent methods, and so forc'd 'em to exchange their Customs, and the *Grecian* Ceremonies, for those of the Church of *Rome*, and to receive the Reformation of the *Kalendar* which was made by *Gregory XIII*. But the *Russians*  
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not being able to endure such an Innovation, and disdaining to bear the Yoke that was impos'd on 'em, the more they were press'd to submit to it, the more vehemently they complain'd against and threaten'd those who would have compel'd 'em to receive an Alteration to which they had so strong and so natural an aversion. At last they resolv'd to call in the *Cossacks*, who were all of their own Religion. This Difference in Religion occasion'd such an implacable Animosity betwixt the *Polanders* and the *Russians*, that they could never afterwards be reconcil'd. And this was one of the principal causes of the Revolt of the *Cossacks*, and of all the Disasters with which *Poland* was afterwards harass'd.

Such was the dismal effect of that Change of Religion, and of those Ceremonies which the *Polish* Gentry would have introduc'd into their Territories in *Russia*: they ought to have consider'd, that the best Innovations are frequently attended with fatal Consequences, and their own Country might have furnish'd 'em with a very instructive Example of this nature. The *Lutheran* Doctrine was introduc'd into *Riga* by a Sedition of the meaner sort of People, in the Year 1586, not long after the Reformation of the Kalendar made by Pope *Gregory XIII.* had been publish'd there. Some persons resolving to celebrate the Feast of our Saviour's Nativity according to the ancient Kalendar, the Governor of the City imprison'd the Principal of the College, because he was the first who acted contrary to the Decree of the Senate; which rais'd so great an Uproar in the City, that the People in the night-time broke open the Prison, and pull'd down the Houses of the Curate and of the Governor: And even the disorder was so great, that almost all the Inhabitants took up Arms against those who defended the Ro-

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man-Catholick Religion, and especially the Jesuits, whom King *Stephen Batzori* had settl'd there in the year 1582, after he had given 'em certain Revenues and a Church which belong'd to the Canons. During the heat of the tumult, the incens'd People imprison'd some of the Senators, and put some others to death; so that being sensible of their Guilt, and despairing of Pardon, they put themselves under the protection of other *Lutherans*, and never afterwards return'd to their ancient Religion.

Thus 'tis plain, that the restraining of the *Cossacks* from making Incursions, and the Change of Religion which the Lords of *Poland* would have introduc'd into their Territories in *Russia* and *Ukrainia*, were the two principal Causes of that Peoples revolt. But there was also another reason that caus'd that fierce and untractable Nation to rebel.

The Gentry of *Upper Volhinia* were so addicted to Tyranny and Oppression, that they could not endure the *Cossacks*, because their neighbourhood gave a bad Example to all their Subjects, and dispos'd 'em to shake off the insupportable Yoke of Servitude; for they thought it better to live, like the *Cossacks*, at Liberty, and without Constraint, than to work and till the Ground for the use of their Oppressors; so that the tyranny of the Gentlemen augmented the number of the *Cossacks*, by forcing the Peasants to forsake their Habitations, and retire to them.

The fourth reason that the *Cossacks* had to complain of the Gentry, proceeded from the sordid Usury and insatiable Avarice of the *Jews*, who are very numerous in *Poland*, except in the Province of *Massovia*, where they are only permitted to remain when there is a *Dyer* sitting at *Warsaw*. They live miserably thro the whole Kingdom,  
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because they are oppress'd and squeez'd by the Gentry; they are usually the persons who sell *Aqua-Vita* and Beer, and farm the Customs of the Lords, which they do for the most part at an excessive price; and this is the reason why they make bad Brandy and Beer. They were first introduc'd into *Poland* by a Duke of *Kalisch*, who brought them from *Germany*, and establish'd them in his and some other Cities of *Lower Poland*, from whence they spread themselves throughout the whole Kingdom: they have the Privilege not to acknowledge any Judge, but only the *Palatins*, whom they easily soften (not to say corrupt) by the Presents they make them. Their Usury and Exactions upon the People have sometimes risen to such an exorbitant height, that they have obtain'd a Prohibition for any private person to brew Beer, not even for themselves, by which means they oblig'd all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom to buy it of them at what price they pleas'd to impose upon it.

The Son of King *Vladislaus* dying in the Year 1647, the *Cossacks* began again to revolt, under the command of one *Chemelski*, who was the first that made the *Cossacks* joyn the *Tartars*, notwithstanding the mortal Enmity that was formerly betwixt 'em by reason of the great difference of their Language, Manners, and Religion. After they were thus united, in the Year 1648, they made a terrible havock in *Poland*. But before I proceed to relate their Barbarities, it will not be improper to give a short Character of *Chemelski*.

He understood War very well, and was once Secretary to the Army; he was also a man of Learning, and had studied with the Jesuits at *Leopold*; he knew the weak side of the Court of *Poland*, having been several times there in the quality of an Envoy; he was so exasperated by the loss of

of an Estate which a *Polish* Lord had taken from him, by a Law-suit, that immediately he had recourse to force; and having gather'd out of the Isles of the *Boristhenes* a multitude of People like himself, and corrupted the *Cossacks* in the *Polish* Army, he soon after prevail'd with the neighbouring *Tartars* to joyn him, with whose assistance he fell unexpectedly upon the *Polanders* who guarded the Frontiers of the Kingdom, and afterwards cut in pieces part of their Army, and sent the rest, with their Commanders, into Slavery to *Tartary*. From that time he so manag'd the Republick, that sometimes he suffer'd himself to be appeas'd by Promises, and then rais'd a new Insurrection, according to the posture of his Affairs. 'Tis true, he was sometimes beaten by the *Polanders*, but 'tis no less certain that he always kept the Advantage over 'em, either by his own dexterity, or by the Divisions or Neglect of the *Polish* Generals, who could not make a right use of their Victories. He was often reconcil'd to the Republick, but never trusted in them. He was naturally of a turbulent Spirit, keeping his Men always in Arms against *Poland*, and fortifying his Interest by the Alliance of some potent Neighbour; for 'twas his constant practice to change his Allies according to the state of his Affairs. Thus, after the *Tartars* had concluded a Peace with King *John Casimir*, he implor'd the Protection of the Duke of *Muscovy*; so that *Poland* could hardly entertain any Hope of being able to reduce the *Cossacks* during the life of so politick a General.

After the death of *Uladislaus IV*, May 30, 1648, *John Casimir* his Brother was chosen King of *Poland*, Nov. 17, in the same Year. He immediately apply'd himself to remedy the ill state of the Republick, and to repair the Losses it had sustain'd by the Irruption which the *Cossacks* and *Tartars* had

had made even into the very Heart of the Kingdom, after the Defeat at *Pilaveze*, Sept. 29, 1648. The greatest part of the *Polish* Army was compos'd of new-rai'd Soldiers and of Militia; they were encamp'd near the *Cossacks*, and had even obtain'd some Advantages over them; but those Revolters having made a great noise in the Evening with their Drums and Trumpets, and by discharging several Volleys of Canon round their Camp, the new-rai'd *Polanders* believ'd that they were rejoycing for the arrival of the *Tartars*, whom they expected, which put 'em into such a consternation, that they resolv'd upon a sudden flight, their Officers not being able to stop them. The disorder was so great, and the flight so precipitate, that the *Cossacks* were for a whole day of opinion, that it was only a Feint to draw them from their Post; but at last having detach'd some Troops to observe the Enemy, they understood that there was not one Soldier left in the *Polish* Camp; whereupon they marched immediately, and pillag'd all the Baggage that the *Polanders* had left: And the *Tartars* arriving afterwards in their Army, they carried Terror and Desolation into the very Heart of the Kingdom. Such was the fatal effect of a panick Fear that surpriz'd those new-rai'd and undisciplin'd Troops.

The *Polish* Army being thus totally dispers'd at *Pilaveze*, a small City in *Upper Volhinia*, about two leagues from *Chmielnich*, on the River *Bug*, the *Tartars* and *Cossacks* besieg'd *Leopold* with an Army of 300000 Men, and at the first Assault took the Castle, but they met with a more than ordinary resistance from the Town, tho it was neither strong by Nature nor Art, and defended by a small Garrison. When these *Barbarians* perceiv'd that they could not make themselves Masters of the City, they demanded 200000 Crowns of Gold for

for its ransom; and the Burghers not being able to pay so exorbitant a Sum, and fearing the Event of a Siege, gave them 1200 Marks of uncoin'd Silver, among which there was a great quantity of Church-plate; but they not being satisfy'd with so small a sum, continu'd to press the City which oblig'd the Burghers to give them 16000 Livres more, which they rais'd with extraordinary difficulty; and besides, they gave them the holy Ornaments, Cloth, Silks, and abundance of Furrs; for tho' the City wants the Convenience of a River, 'tis a place of great Trade, because it is the Metropolis of all *Russia*. Thus the *Cossacks* and *Tartars* rais'd the Siege of *Leopold*, October 24, 1648, after which they ravag'd the Country; and after the *Tartars* return'd home, the *Cossacks* alone laid Siege to *Zamoiscia*, a Town seated upon a Lake in the Palatinate of *Belcz*, fortified with seven Bastions, and beautified with an Academy, which *John Zamoski*, Chancellor and General of the Army of the Crown, founded there. It is famous for the vigorous resistance it made against *Chemelnski*, General of the *Cossacks*, who besieg'd it with an Army of above 60000 Men, towards the end of the Year 1648.

The Year following King *John Casimir* sent Deputies to *Chemelnski*, to endeavour to bring him to a sense of his Duty, and in the mean time to entreat him to restrain the Violence of his Troops, and to hinder them from making Incursions. But *Chemelnski* answer'd fiercely, That he would put himself under the Protection of the Port, if the Poles would not grant him all the Conditions he requir'd.

The King, who was resolv'd to leave no means unattempted to overcome the Obstinacy of the *Cossacks*, sent other Deputies to treat with 'em concerning Articles of Peace; they found *Chemelnski* at

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*Pereaslav*, where they deliver'd to him, in the King's Name, the Batoon of a General, on the 20th of *February*, 1649, and receiv'd his Proposals, which look'd rather like absolute Commands than Conditions of Peace; for he exclaim'd with great vehemency against *Visnovieski* and *Czaplinski*, and declar'd with an insupportable Insolence, That he would never be at quiet till he had chastiz'd them for all the Injuries they had done to the *Cossacks*. That *Visnovieski* must be punish'd, and *Czaplinski* put into their hands, as the Authors of all these Disasters: That *Potoski* was not free from the Crime of having persecuted the *Cossacks*, even into the Isles of the *Boristhenes*, whither they had retir'd to save their Lives: That nevertheless *Potoski* (who was then a Slave in the *Crim*) was punish'd sufficiently for all his pernicious Designs: That to those three he might add the great Standard-bearer of the Crown, who had robb'd him of his Inheritance, and had quarter'd his Troops in the Territories of the *Cossacks*, where they committed all manner of Barbarities; but that he did not impute all those Disorders so much to him as to *Visnovieski* and *Czaplinski*: That therefore the Punishment, as well as the Blame, ought to fall upon those two; and, that if they were not punish'd, he would perish, with all the Army of the *Cossacks*, or Poland itself should perish, with its Senate, Generals, Lords, and all the Nobility.

King *Casimir* perceiving the Design of the *Cossacks*, by this Answer, drew his Forces together; and on the other hand *Czemelnski* call'd in the *Tartars*, who came to his assistance with a formidable Army, and attack'd a body of the *Polish* Troops which was encamp'd at *Zbaras*, a small City of *Lower Podolia*, upon the Frontiers of *Lower Volhynia*, about ten leagues from *Braclaw*, towards the North, famous for the brave defence that a small number of *Polanders* made against an infinite

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number of *Cossacks* and *Tartars*, who kept them invested for two months, and thrice attack'd their Retrenchments, without being able to force them; for the *Polanders* defended themselves with so incredible a Valour, that they gave their King time to come to their relief. The *Cossacks* and *Tartars* hearing of their approach, march'd secretly to *Zborow*, on the River *Bog*, to meet him, where being defeated by King *Casimir*, and understanding that another Party of *Cossacks* was routed by the *Lithuanians*, they concluded a Peace with *Poland*, which was afterwards ratified in the Diet held at *Warsaw* in the same Year 1649.

After the Peace was concluded with the *Cossacks* at *Zborow*, *Cheme'nski* their General growing daily more powerful and insolent, assisted the *Cham* of *Tartary* against the *Circassians*, without the King's Leave; and afterwards having receiv'd Succours from the *Cham*, he attack'd the *Hospodar* of *Moldavia*, from whom he exacted a great Ransom, with a Promise to give his Daughter in Marriage to his Son *Timothy*. But not being satisfied with so considerable an Alliance, he sent Deputies, Anno 1650, to the Port to desire some Auxiliary Forces, and to put himself under the protection of the *Turks*. Thus he shook off the Yoke of the Republic of *Poland*, and the *Cossacks* made themselves Masters of all *Ukrania*; which was an extraordinary mortification to the *Polish* Nobility, who had just re-enter'd upon the Estates they had lost during the Insurrection of those Rebels.

King *Casimir* having lost all Hopes of reducing them by Promises or Favours, resolv'd once more to have recourse to Force. In pursuance of this Resolution, he summon'd the *Arriërbau*, in the Year 1651, and led them, with his whole Army, into the Fields which depends upon the City of *Lesnow*, beyond *Beretesko*, a City of the Palatinate

of *Luceoria*, on the River *Ster*, about a league from the Frontiers of *Russia*. In this place he found the *Cossacks* and *Tartars* joyn'd together, whom he attack'd and fought for three days together, during which time the Battel was very obstinate on both sides, but at last the *Polish* Army obtain'd an entire Victory over the *Cossacks* and *Tartars*, and put *Chemelski* and the *Cham*, who commanded in person, to flight. This defeat oblig'd *Chemelski* to make a Peace with *Poland*, which was concluded *Sept. 28. 1651*, but lasted not long; for, soon after, the *Cossacks* being enrag'd by the Insolency of the *Polish* Nobility, and fearing to fall again into their ancient Bondage, attack'd the Army of the Republic, and totally routed it.

I observ'd, before that *Chemelski* had always the Policy to enter into an Alliance with such Princes who were best able to support him. In pursuance of this Maxim, as soon as he understood that the *Tartars* had made a Peace with *Poland*, not daring to rely upon his own single strength, he put himself under the protection of the *Muscovites*, in the year 1654, and made a League with 'em; which cost the *Polanders* the City of *Smolensko*, which the *Muscovites* took the same year.

*Chemelski* dying *Anno 1658*, the *Cossacks* chose one *Vihowski* for their General, and threaten'd, that they would put themselves into the hands of the *Turk* or the *D. of Muscovy*, if the Republic would not grant all that they demanded; upon which King *John Casimir* considering that it would be equally disadvantageous to his Kingdom, whether they submitted to the *Duke of Muscovy* or the *Turks*, concluded a Peace with 'em, by which it was agreed, that all their Captains should be Gentlemen of *Poland*; That *Vihowski* their General should

should be Palatin of *Kiowia*; That the Bishops of the *Greek* Religion should be admitted to the chief Offices; and, That the Metropolitan of *Kiowia* should have the rank of a Senator. Besides, the Starostie of *Lubomliana* was given to *Vihowski*, and that of *Bobrois* to *Nieczajko*, on condition that they should hold them as Fiefs of the Republic. These Conditions was afterwards ratified by the Diet: And by this means the *Cossack* Captains, from miserable Peasants of *Russia*, as they were by their Birth, were advanc'd to the Dignity of *Polish* Noblemen.

I have already observ'd, that the revolt of the *Cossacks* was partly occasion'd by the Tyranny of the *Polish* Gentlemen; for they were their Lords, and had power of Life and Death over 'em, as they have still in *Poland* over all their Peasants. Those of *Ukrania* not being able to support their Insolency, began to revolt, and by degrees expel'd all the Nobility. There were several great Lords, who by this revolution lost above 100000 Crowns a Year, among whom was the above-mention'd Prince *Visnovieski*, whose Son I have seen in *Poland* so poor, that he had only a yearly Pension of Six thousand Livres, which Queen *Mary Louise* allow'd him to subsist upon; but Fortune afterwards rais'd him to the Throne, upon the abdication of King *Casimir*; as I shall have occasion to observe in its proper place.

That fatal Revolt of the *Cossacks*, which began in the Reign of *Sigismund III*, augmenting by degrees under the following Kings, not only depriv'd many *Polish* Gentlemen of their Estates, and gave the *Tartars* occasion to carry away above a million of persons into Slavery, but was also the cause of the decay of the Christian Religion throughout *Ukrania*: For it may be reasonably suppos'd that the *Turks* endeavour to settle *Mahometism* in that

Country, in imitation of all Conquerors, who the Letter to secure the Fidelity of the people whom they subdue, force them to receive their Religion, as the most effectual way to keep 'em in Obedience to their new Masters. And even tho' the *Turks* should not endeavour to settle *Mahometism* in all their Conquests, it wou'd at last become the modish Religion, since 'tis usual for people to take the Language and Religion of a Prince, whose Favour they are desirous to procure.

The *Cossacks* having under several Generals maintain'd a War against the *Polanders*, who perpetually labour'd to reduce them, they were at last oblig'd to call in the *Turks*, and to put themselves under their protection. Thus were those Infidels admitted into *Ukrania*, and easily made themselves Masters of the City of *Caminnic*, which they found destitute of all sorts of Provisions; nevertheless they took 'it by Capitulation: But they were so far from observing the Articles they had granted, by which the Inhabitants were to continue still in the profession of their ancient Religion, that as soon as they were Masters of the place, they carried away into Slavery all the people of that unhappy City, and left no mark of its having been once inhabited by Christians, but only the Cathedral Church, which they have also turn'd to a Mosque. These are the fatal Consequences of the insupportable Tyranny of the Gentlemen of *Poland*, and of their unjustifiable Cruelty to their Subjects.

But long before the *Turks* invaded *Poland*, they look'd upon *Ukrania* as a Country which they resolv'd to conquer at any rate, and which they might easily subdue, if the *Cossacks* should be oblig'd to desire their protection. Besides, they were willing to take hold of so favourable an Opportunity to deliver themselves from such  
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cruel and formidable Enemies, who had so often harass'd 'em by their Pyracies on the *Black Sea*. They had made Peace with the Emperor, and consequently were not oblig'd to keep an Army in *Hungary*; and after the abdication of King *John Casimir*, who was a valiant Prince, the People had chosen a peaceable King in his place: They consider'd also, that the Revolt of the *Cossacks* gave them a free passage into a pleasant and fertile Country, such as *Ukrania* certainly is, and invited 'em to make themselves Masters of *Caminiec*, which is the Key of that Province.

For that City, which is the Metropolis of Upper *Podolia*, is fortified by Nature, being situated on a Rock, environ'd by a very deep, broad, and steep Ditch, which is fill'd with Water by the River *Smoirzy* which almost quite surrounds the City, so that it leaves only a narrow passage into it; and 'tis that entry only which is fortified by Art, all the rest being sufficiently defended by Nature. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged, that the Hills that are beyond the Ditch being higher than the City, the Garrison in a Siege might be very much incommoded with Artillery: But 'tis not such an Inconveniency as this that can oblige a place of strength to surrender, nor will it ever be reduc'd by so distant an attack; and, after all, the City of *Caminiec* will ne'r be retaken by the *Polanders*, unless the Port be one day reduc'd as low as *Poland* was when the *Turks* took it.

In the Reign of King *Michael* the *Polanders* were so firmly perswaded of the impossibility of reducing that place, and of the difficulty of putting an end to the War with the Grand Signior, that they made a shameful Peace with him, and oblig'd themselves to pay him a yearly Tribute. But the Dyer, which was afterwards held at *Warsaw*,

*Jan*, would not ratifie that Peace; so that the War between *Poland* and the Port was renew'd with greater Vigor than before.

The two Armies of the Crown and of the Dutchy advanc'd towards *Podolia*, the one commanded by General *Sobieski*, and the other by General *Patz*, and march'd together to attack that of the *Turks*, which was encamp'd at *Chotzin* on the *Niester*, about five leagues from *Caminiec*, where they fought and entirely routed 'em. This Victory, which was very considerable, would have doubtless restor'd the Affairs of *Poland* to a good condition, and contributed very much to the retaking of *Caminiec*, if the Generals had made a right use of so important an Advantage. But the Battel was no sooner over than they carried home their Troops, the one into *Poland*, and the other into *Lithuania*; in which they imitated their Predecessors *Swirczowski* and *Ostrogski*, who after they had obtain'd a memorable Victory over the *Moscovites*, return'd home, instead of marching to attack *Smolensko*, which they had lost a little before, and might then have easily retaken.

The Error which those two Generals committed by neglecting so inviting an opportunity to reduce *Smolensko*, was so unaccountable, and so directly opposite to the Maxims of Policy, and even of common Prudence, that I cannot forbear inserting the whole Story.

In the year 1512, *Sigismund* King of *Poland* married the Daughter of the Count of *Scepusz*, which so incens'd the Emperor *Maximilian*, that he left no means unattempted to involve *Poland* either in a civil or foreign War. It was in pursuance of this design that in a Dyet of the Princes of *Germany* he complain'd of King *Sigismund's* Proceedings, alledging, That he was contriving indirect Methods to expel the *Teutonic Knights* out

out of *Prussia*, which they had purchas'd with their Blood, and where they had extirpated Paganism, and establish'd the Faith of Jesus Christ. But seeing he could not prevail with the Princes to declare War against the King of *Poland*, at a time when all the Christians were ready to enter in a Confederacy against the *Turks*, he made a League with *Basil Duke of Muscovy*, and perswaded him to declare War against the *Polanders*, and to invade *Lithuania*. The *Muscovite*, relying upon this new Alliance with the Emperor, scrupl'd not to violate the Peace he had made with King *Sigismund*. He rais'd an Army, enter'd *Lithuania*, and after he had destroy'd the Country, sat down before *Smolensko*, but could not take it; tho at the same time *Sigismund* was in *Poland*, and had no Troops on foot to oppose him.

The King of *Poland* being inform'd of the Treachery of the Duke of *Muscovy*, who had broke the Peace without any cause, call'd a Dyet at *Radom*, in the Year 1513, to concert the Measures that were to be taken in so pressing an exigency. The Czar on the other hand sent to demand Succours from the Emperor his Ally, who only sent him some *Engineers*, who cast 300 pieces of Cannon for him. The year following, the Duke of *Muscovy* having assembl'd an Army of 80000 Men, march'd with his 300 pieces of Cannon to besiege *Smolensko*, which he batter'd in a very furious manner. The City was so closely block'd up, and the Avenues so well guarded, that 500 Horse, whom the King of *Poland* sent to its relief, could not get into the place. In the mean time the Garrison made so vigorous a defence, that the *Muscovites* being discourag'd by the obstinate resistance of the *Polanders*, rais'd the Siege, and ravag'd *Lithuania* a second time. After they had sent their Booty to *Muscovy*, they return'd to the Siege of *Smolensko*,

but the Garrison defended the place with so much Courage and Resolution, that the Czar despairing of Success, resolv'd to raise the Siege; but *Glinki* a *Lithuanian* Rebel perswaded him to continue it, insinuating, that he could not without exposing himself to eternal Infamy suffer an impotent and dishearten'd enemy to insult over such a formidable Army. At last the cunning Traytor, who had engag'd *Basil* in this enterprize, perceiving that he could not take the City by force, resolv'd to try the Success of a Stratagem: To this end he desir'd leave to speak with the Governor, to whom he represented, That his Master was not in a condition to relieve him; that the Garrison could not hold out much longer, and that unless he was resolv'd to bury himself in the Ruins of the City, he ought to consult his own true Interest, and accept the vast Recompences which the Czar was willing to give him. Thus the Governor was perswaded to surrender the City of *Smolensk*, which the *Polanders* had possess'd for the space of a hundred years.

As soon as King *Sigismund* had receiv'd at *Radom* the news of the loss of that important place, he went immediately to *Lithuania*, in *September*, and assembl'd all the great Lords of that *Dutchy* at *Vilna*, to deliberate with them how they might effectually oppose the Progress of their victorious enemy; 10000 Horse, 20000 Foot, and some light Horse, were rais'd in *Lithuania*, with which, and with the Army of *Poland*, and the necessary Artillery, the King set out from *Vilna*, with a design to attack the *Muscovites*. The Czar having receiv'd Advice of the march of the *Polish* Army, reassembl'd his Troops, and encamp'd near *Smolensk*, lest the King should sit down before it. After he had reinforc'd the Garrison, he march'd with his Army to *Lithuania*, and advanc'd



to the River *Berezina*, in the Palatinate of *Minsk*; where *Sigismund* arriving immediately after, struck such a Terror into the *Muscovites*, that they retir'd to the City of *Orsza*, not far from the *Boristhenes*.

The King of *Poland* having passed the River *Berezina*, without any opposition, detach'd a body of 30000 chosen Men, whom he order'd to march towards the enemy, while he remain'd at *Boryssow* on the River *Berezina*, with the rest of the Army; where he cast up Trenches and fortified the Camp with great diligence, that if the *Muscovites* should gain the Battle, the *Polanders* and *Lithuanians* might have the advantage of retiring to a place of security; and that he might afterwards be in a condition to oppose the enemy, who even after a Victory would have been weaken'd by the Battle, and harass'd by the Fatigues of so long a pursuit.

The Czar, who was at the head of an Army of 80000 Men, despis'd that of *Poland*, which was not half so numerous, and insolently boasted, that his Soldiers should not so much as take the pains to draw their Sabres against the *Polanders*, but drive 'em all to *Muscovy* with Whips, like Herds of Oxen, or Flocks of Sheep. Nor was this a meer *Rhodomontade*, for he actually gave Orders to his Soldiers, that they should not draw their Sabres, but let the *Polanders* pass the *Boristhenes* without opposition, and then whip 'em to *Muscovy*. But that insolent and haughty Prince had the Mortification to be convinc'd by a very fatal and unwelcome experiment, that a great Army should never despise a feeble Enemy, and that a Conqueror may quickly ruin himself by neglecting the prudent Maxims of a cautious Policy.

As

As soon as the *Polish* Army arriv'd near the City of *Orsza*, the *Muscovites* retir'd about 4000 paces beyond the *Boristhenes*, concluding that their retreat would embolden the *Polanders* to pass the River, and that afterwards they might easily defeat them, and intercept their flight. The Duke of *Muscovy* was then at *Smolensko*, about thirteen leagues from his Army, where he employ'd his time in dividing *Lithuania*, and sharing it among his Generals, allotting to each of them a part of the Country on the Mapp, and considering how he should dispose of an Army whom he look'd upon already as his Prisoners. But the *Polanders*, who have always the advantage over the *Muscovites* in the open Field, were so incens'd at the Pride and Insolency of the Duke of *Muscovy*, who threaten'd to whip them, that they resolv'd to give him Battle. In pursuance of this Resolution they divided their Army into two parts, one commanded by General *Suirczowski*, and the other by General *Ostrogski*. The two Generals having held a Council of War, commanded a Bridge to be laid over the River, and order'd all the Artillery, with the Infantry, to pass the same; which being done, the Cavalry follow'd 'em with an incredible bravery; the *Muscovites*, pursuant to the Czar's Order, not stirring from their Posts. The two Armies being drawn up in order of Battle, *Suirczowski* detach'd 800 Horse for a body of reserve, and order'd them to post themselves in a Wood at the side of the Enemy's Army, and in the heat of the Fight to sally out and attack the *Muscovites* with terrible Cries, to put 'em into a consternation.

King *Sigismund's* Army was so dispos'd, that the *Polish* Cavalry had the right Wing, and the *Lithuanians* the left, the Infantry being plac'd in the middle. The Battle began about three a clock,

clock, the *Polanders* first attacking the *Muscovites* with an undaunted Resolution: Sometimes they gain'd Ground of 'em, and sometimes were repuls'd by the unequal numbers of their Enemies; but immediately they rally'd, and broke through 'em afresh.

On the other hand *Ostrogski*, who commanded the *Lithuanians*, attack'd the *Muscovites* with an extraordinary fury, and made a great slaughter among them. There was in the *Polish* Camp a little rising Ground, which contributed very much to the gaining of the Battle, for their Artillery being planted there, made such a dreadful havock in the Enemy's Rear, and broke all their Ranks in so terrible a manner, that they began to be disorder'd, and to take the flight; and those who were in the middle perceiving that those who were in the rear gave way, began also to fly, while they were still fighting in the van. During this disorder, the 800 Horse who were posted in the Wood attack'd the *Muscovites* in the flank with so much Fury, that being no longer able to sustain the shock of the *Polanders*, the whole Army gave ground and fled.

In this Battle 32000 *Muscovites* were kill'd, and many drown'd in a Morass, which they endeavour'd to pass in their flight. Some affirm, the *Muscovites* lost 40000 Men; and 'tis certain the slaughter was so great, that the Waters of the *Boristhenes* grew red with the Blood that was shed on its banks. The *Polanders* took a great number of Prisoners, and among others ten Generals of the greatest Lords of *Muscovy*, seventeen Palatins or Governors of Provinces, and two thousand Gentlemen. Of the *Polanders* there were but 400 men kill'd, but the number of the wounded was much greater. They obtain'd this memorable Victory *March 25. 1614.*

After

After the gaining of such an important Battle, the loss of which would have been infallibly attended with the total ruin not only of *Lithuania*, but also of *Poland*, the Generals ought to have besieg'd the City of *Smolensko*, which they might have easily retaken during the universal consternation that was spread over *Muscovy*; but instead of making a right use of that advantage, they retir'd without making any further attempt; and King *Sigismund* himself, who expected the event at *Borjssow*, return'd to *Vilna* with the Prisoners, whom he caus'd to be led before him in a kind of Triumph. From thence he sent Ambassadors to all Christian Princes, to notify the great Victory which he had obtain'd over the *Muscovites*; and that their Eyes, as well as Ears, might convince 'em of the Truth of that Advice, the Envoys were accompanied with fourteen *Muscovites*, who were remarkable for their white Hair. But the Emperor being enrag'd at the loss which his Allies had sustain'd, and at the unhappy event of a War, of which he himself was the Author, surpriz'd the Envoys of the King of *Poland* as they were passing thro' his Territories, and took their Prisoners from 'em, whom he sent back to the Czar, by the way of *Lubeck*.

It is so natural to the *Polanders* to neglect the advantages which they obtain over their Enemies, that after they had defeated *Gustavus* King of *Sweden* in a memorable Battle, in which he himself was wounded, and could hardly secure his own person, they were so far from pursuing him, that they suffer'd him to retire to *Stum*, between *Marienburg* and *Marienwerder*, where having rally'd his scatter'd Forces, he renew'd the War with greater Vigor than before. Nor were they guilty of a less inexcusable blunder after the Victory they obtain'd in *Ukrania*, June 30. 1651; for the

the *Cossacks* and *Tartars* were totally routed, and the Cham, with *Chemelski*, put to flight, the *Polanders* retir'd, as if they had been beaten, and immediately concluded a Peace, by which they suffer'd the *Cossacks* to keep an Army of 20000 Men in the Palatinate of *Kiowia*. This Reflexion is so just and important, that I cannot forbear adding another remarkable instance of the same nature, which happen'd *Anno* 1489.

About that time *Russia* and *Podolia* were miserably harass'd by the *Tartars*, who infested these Provinces with continual Inroads, and always return'd home with a multitude of Slaves; at last King *Casimir* resolving to prevent the utter ruin of the Country, upon advice that the *Tartars* were preparing to make a new Incurfion into *Russia* and *Podolia*, he sent *John Albert* his Son with a body of light Horse to oppose 'em, and order'd all the Gentry of *Russia* and *Podolia* to joyn him. The *Tartars* being divided into two bodies, the first of which consisted of 15000 Horse, and the second of 10000, were returning home, without fearing any danger, with a prodigious number of Slaves, according to their usual Custom; but the young Prince with his Troops meeting the first, attack'd and totally routed them, and took from them all the Booty and Slaves they had carried away. After this Success, he march'd immediately to attack the other body: The Officer who commanded 'em made some resistance, but was at last kill'd, and the slaughter was so great, that the *Polanders* were weary with cutting off so many Heads, for not one of the *Tartars* return'd to the *Crim*.

This total defeat of the *Tartars* ought to have encourag'd the *Polanders* to pursue their Victory, and in their return to enter the *Crim*, and ravage all they could, which they might have done the more

more easily, because *Poland* reach'd at that time to the *Black Sea*, and because they might have surpriz'd that *Peninsula*, since there was not one *Tartar* that escap'd to carry the News of the defeat, or of the march of the *Polanders*. But instead of taking this favourable Opportunity to invade, or at least alarm, these *Barbarians*, with whom they were sensible they could never conclude a solid and durable Peace, Prince *John Albert* return'd to *Poland* in triumph, and the King his Father receiv'd him with a great deal of Joy, instead of checking him for not pursuing his Victory; and all the *Polanders* extoll'd his Courage and Prudence. This then is the usual Conduct of the *Polanders*, after the gaining of a Battle.

I observ'd, that the *Polanders* know by experience, that they can never make a solid peace with the *Tartars*, or rely upon their promises; and I could easily prove this Remark by above a hundred examples, but I shall content my self with mentioning two of these Instances. *Sigismund* King of *Poland* preparing to make War with the Duke of *Muscovy* in the year 1516, and being desirous to secure *Podolia* and *Volhinia*, gave a sum of Money to *Mendlinges Cham* of *Tartary*, that he might not only oblige him to make no Irruptions into *Poland*, but also to make a powerful diversion in *Muscovy*; which the Cham promis'd and swore to do: but he had no sooner receiv'd the Money from the *Polanders*, than he violated his Oath; for marching out of the *Crim* with 300000 Horse, instead of invading the *Muscovites*, he enter'd into *Podolia* and *Russia*, and encamp'd at *Luceoria*, from whence he sent four of his principal Officers, each with a great body of Horse, keeping only the fourth part of his Army with himself, who made such a terrible havock thro' the whole Kingdom of *Poland*, and especially in the

Palatinates of *Belcz*, *Leopold*, and *Lublin*; and the Consternation of the People was so great, that the Alarm reach'd to *Hungary*; for they pillag'd, burnt, ravish'd Women and Maids, and carried away all the Cattle, Men, Women, and Maids they could seize upon, insomuch that the number of the Slaves they took amounted to above 50000 persons, without reckoning the old and the young, whom they kill'd, because they could not carry them away.

In the mean time King *Sigismund* was in *Lithuania*, where having receiv'd an account of the fatal News, and not being able to remedy the disorder at so great a distance, he sent Deputies to *Mendlinges*, to complain of his Treachery in violating his Oath; to which the Cham reply'd, That it was the Fault of his Children and Nephews, and of the insolent Youth, whom he could not restrain. In the mean time he desir'd to renew the Alliance he had made with King *Sigismund*, and promis'd to turn his Arms against the *Muscovites*; accordingly he march'd the same Summer out of the *Crim*, and ravag'd all *Muscovy*, from whence he brought back an infinite number of Cattle and Slaves. 'Tis plain then that neither the *Polanders* nor any other Christians ought to give credit to those *Barbarians*. But the second Example which I shall relate will more plainly demonstrate the Infidelity of those *Mahometans*.

*Aslan* being declar'd Cham of *Tartary*, and his Fidelity being suspected by the Grand Signior, the Port on which the *Tartars* depend resolv'd to send them *Sedesker* for their Prince; which *Aslan* being inform'd of by some of his Friends, and dreading the Grand Signior's power, he sent to supplicate *Sigismund* III, King of *Poland*, to give him leave, if the Port should declare War against him, to retire into his Territories, about the

*Be-*

*Boristhenes*, with 70000 men, praying him to be instead of a Father to him, and promising to serve him against all his enemies: to which *Sigismund* replied, That he would receive him as his Son; that he wish'd him all Happiness; that he was sorry that the Port was displeas'd with his advancement; and that if the *Turks* should march against him, he might retire with safety into the neighbourhood of the *Boristhenes*, where he would assist him with Provisions and Troops.

The *Polanders*, who guarded the Frontiers of the Kingdom, that they might signalize themselves by some brave and important action, resolv'd to attack *Oczakow*, which belong'd to the *Crim Tartars*, that there might be no place left that could incommode those who had retir'd along the *Boristhenes*; but unfortunately, three days before the *Polanders* arriv'd at *Oczakow*, *Aslan* had concluded a Peace with his Cousin *Sedetker*, and *Oczakow* was surrender'd to him. The *Polanders* having no design to offend *Aslan*, who they knew was their Ally, nor knowing that the two Cousins were reconcil'd, met in their way 300 *Tartars* belonging to the Cham *Aslan*, whom (believing 'em to be his enemies) they cut to pieces, and afterwards kill'd more of the same Nation in other places. Their Courage being elevated with this success, they marched strait to *Oczakow*, and at their first arrival before the place took 3000 Horses that were running loose in the Fields. *Aslan* understanding what the *Polanders* had done, sent a Messenger to *Jaslowieski* their Commander, to acquaint him, that since he was in League with the King of Poland, his Brother and good Friend, and had faithfully defended his Country from the Incursions of the other *Tartars*, he was extremely surpriz'd to hear that the *Polanders* had killed his Men and carried away the Horses which he kept for the Service of

their



their King; that he entreated him to cause 'em to be restored to him, without obliging him to right himself by force of Arms, to revenge the Injury he had received; nor, from a Defender of the Kingdom of *Poland*, to give him cause to become its most cruel enemy; that however he thought fit to inform him, it was necessary he should have a private Conference with him, to treat in a friendly manner of the wrongs and losses he had sustained.

*Jaslowieski* being deeply concerned at this News, that did acquaint him with his having offended a Prince, who was one of *Poland's* Allies, and also fearing the Kings Resentments; sent word to *Aslan*, that he was extremely sorry, that the *Polanders* had offended one of his King's Allies; that this happen'd thoro' a Mistake; not knowing that the *Tartars* whom he met, did belong to him, and thinking they were some of the *Crim Tartars* his Enemies, that he prayed him to forgive him a Fault, of which his Ignorance was the only cause; that he was ready to restore all the Horses that had been taken then, and gave free leave to the *Tartars* to come for them when they pleas'd.

*Aslan* having received this News with a great deal of Joy, sent immediately to fetch the Horses, and invited *Jaslowieski* to come to *Oczakow* with the men that were to bring 'em thither, assuring him that he had nothing to fear, and that at his Arrival they would consult together about the surest means of making a more strong Friendship and Alliance.

*Jaslowieski* not being able to imagine but that *Aslan* was sincere and real, went to him at *Oczakow*. But he was no sooner come thither, but the *Tartars* got on Horse-back, and surrounding the *Polanders*, shot their Arrows at them.

The *Polanders* stood awhile without making any other motion, but covering themselves with their sheilds to guard their Bodies from the Arrows. Then the Cham perceiving the violence which was offered them, stept between, seemingly to hinder the *Tartars* from killing the *Polanders*: But having made a Show of not being able to hinder it, he withdrew, and all the *Polanders* were slain.

It must not be imagin'd, that of all the *Mahometans*, the *Tartars* only are perfidious; for the *Turks* are as faithless, nor ought the Christians to trust any more to the promises of the one, than to those of the others. This is observable from their breach of Faith to all the Towns which surrendred to them upon Articles in *Ukrania*, during the years one thousand six hundred seventy four, and one thousand six hundred seventy five: But of all the Towns which they used ill, none received a more barbarous Treatment than the town of *Human* in Lower *Fodolia*, about five Leagues from the Fontiers of Lower *Vulhinia*, to the West-ward. This Town was very populous, and after some Resistance surrendred to the *Turks* that had beseiged it, upon Articles of Capitulation. These Barbarians, who did not design to perform them, granted to all the people free leave to remain and dwell in the town and enjoy their Rights and Goods: But as soon as they were become Masters of the Place, they put into practise all the Cruelties and Barbarities imaginable: For they ravished the Maids and Women, murdered the old People, and young Children, and carryed away into Slavery all those that were able to walk.

Now let us go back to that which gave me Occasion to make the foregoing Digression. I say, that the Retreat of which I spoke before, that was

was made by Prince *John Albert*, and other Polish Generals may serve to shew, that the Neighbours of *Poland* may make war with that State, without being in danger of losing their Country. For the humour of the *Polanders* will be sure to make them do no more, than barely defend themselves, without fore-seeing that the same Enemies who attackt 'em once, may attacht them again afterwards, if the Souldiers will give 'em leave to take breath, and recruit their Forces after they have beaten them off. This Assertion might be made out by an infinite number of Instances; and principally of so many Irruptions of the *Tartars* into *Poland*, in which the *Tartars* have often been beaten: I'll relate one more that happen'd in the year 1527.

About the beginning of the year, the *Tartars* marched out of their Country with an Army of twenty six thousand Horse. They made an Irruption into *Lithuania*, and came as far as *Pinsk*, plundering and destroying the Country, burning the Villages, and carrying away the Inhabitants into Slavery. The Duke of *Ostrog* having got a Body of men together, pursued them as they were going home with all the Booty and Slaves which they had got in this Expedition: He came up with them about break of day; at a time, when they did not so much as imagine they were followed by the *Polanders*; and with the *Polanders* and *Lithuanians* which he had got with him, he fell upon them of a sudden with great Fury, and made so great a slaughter of them, that very few of them escaped. This he did with so much the greater Ease, because he found them all dismounted; for they thought themselves so secure that they had left their Horses Grazing in the Fields. Thus almost all of them were cut off, except

seven hundred who were taken Prisoners. After this Exploit the Duke of *Ostrog* returned into *Poland*, and brought back forty thousand Christians whom the *Tartars* had carryed away into Slavery. King *Sigismund* receiv'd him at *Cracow* with an incredible joy, and not only commended his Courage extremely, but also his Judgement and Experience in war. For he was indeed a great Officer; and it may be said, that the Fault which he then committed in not entring into the Body of *Crim Tartary*, as well as that of which he might be said to have been guilty before that, in not besieging *Smolensko*, after he had entirely routed the *Muscovites* in the year one thousand five hundred and fourteen, are not so much the particular Faults of a General, as an Effect of the Humour of all the *Polanders*.

The *Cossack* Language is a Dialect of the Polish Tongue; it is full of Diminutives, and pleasant Expressions. The Common people among the *Cossacks* are of the Greek Church; the better sort are most of them Romans or Protestants.

The *Boristhenes*, which, as we have said, runs thro' the middle of *Ukrania*, which the *Cossacks* inhabit, is certainly, next to the *Danube*, the greatest River in *Europe*. It flows out of two Lakes in *Russia*, the one the Lake of *Wolock*, thus called from the town of that Name near its Banks; and the Monastery of the Blessed Trinity; the other is called the *Nieper*, and is in the Forest of *Wolock*, and from the latter the *Boristhenes* is commonly called the river *Nieper*. It is most wholesome and pleasant to drink, and in some places waters many agreeable Meadows, and has large Fishes of a  
very

very good flavour, and without Bones. At a considerable distance below the Town of *Circassi*, it falls between high Rocks and Precipices, which make *Lithuania* inaccessible on one side, except in ten places, where some armed *Cossacks* always keep a Guard either in small Islands or Rocks; whence without any difficulty they cut off the *Tartars*, when they endeavour to get over with their Horses, which swim over large rivers, like Water Spaniels; or if the *Tartars*, sometimes crossing the Desarts beyond *Circassi*, get into *Volhinia* and plunder it, carrying away some of the people of *Lithuania* into Slavery, then the *Cossacks* very often watch them, as they go home with their Booty, and take both that and the Plunderers away.

Some write that the *Cossacks* were called so, from their extraordinary nimbleness, the word *Kosa* signifying a Goat in the Polish Tongue. But that Name seems rather to have been given 'em from *Cosac*, a *Russic* Word that signifieth a Free-Booter, or plundering Soldier. The Island *Cireches*, called in the Polish Tongue *Zaporow*, has got 'em the name of *Zaporovians*: Some say it was from the *Porobis* (Rocks, in the *Russic* Tongue) of the *Boristhenes* that they got that Name; there being great Rocks, about 50 leagues from the mouth of that River that cross it over, which the *Cossacks* pass when they go to make Incursions towards the Black Sea beyond the *Porobis*. They have in the Island their *Skarbnica Wogskowa*, that is, the *Magazines* of their Army, and there they keep all their Booty. Nor could the *Cossacks* ever be driven out of that Island, because, as it is in a manner wall'd round with very large Reeds, no Galley nor Vessel of any considerable Bulk can get thither. They want for nothing tho' they never sow nor reap. Several

*Palatines* supply 'em with money, and the Provinces they inhabit, and which they guard, furnish 'em with Necessaries. They are all Gentlemen, but either of very slender Fortunes, younger Brothers, or such as have no share of the Inheritance, as the Law of the Nation orders it. They are commonly divided into Troops of 120 when they guard the Frontiers; besides their Servants that follow in the like number, and who alight, if their Masters Horse is disabled. They fight covered with Sheep-Skins, stufed so as to be Launce and Javelin Proof. Their Arms are Pistols and Carbines, and Scymitars, that hang at their Girdle fastened with a Gilt Chain. In the Fight they always ride to and fro; as if they designed to attack the Enemy on diverse sides, and thus rout them the more easily; the Foe not being able to know on which side they are like to be most pressed. They use Kettle-Drums, but never Trumpets, unless before their General, whom they chuse among themselves; and who used to take the Oath of Fidelity to the King of Poland. Their *Czarki*, or hollow trunks of trees, which they use to make Incursions, are not altogether unlike the Canoes which the Indians use. They are covered with Ox-hides, with Holes for as many men as each Canoe will carry, commonly 40 or 50; and they fasten those Hides so to their Bodies with pieces of Leather that no water can get in; yet they are not obstructed by them from Rowing or using their Arms. Fifty of these often go out together, usually keeping pretty near the Shoar; and if a storm happens to arise, or they find they are not able to cope with the Enemies Gallies, they make the best of their way to the *Paludes Meotica*, sink their Canoes, dive into the water; and draw their breath thro' a Reed, which

which they keep so fixt to their mouth, as to let nothing but the end of it be above the water.

There they lye hid till the danger is over; and, then having thrown the water out of the Canoes, they fall unexpectedly upon the Gallies, and often make themselves Masters of them. About the end of the season these Adventurers separate, and go each to his own home, after they have appointed their Rendezvous for the ensuing Spring near the Islands of the *Boristhenes*.

The *Cossacks* are of a good Stature, strong, dexterous, nimble, liberal, great Lovers of their Liberty, uneasy under any Yoke, indefatigable, bold, and good Soldiers; but great Drunkards, and very treacherous. They are much given to Fishing and Hunting. They have this peculiar to them that none knows how to prepare salt-Petre better than they do, and their Country used to supply several parts of *Europe* with it. In Summer they are mightily pestered with Flies, and Grasshoppers, which fly sometimes in such vast numbers that they make a kind of Cloud, and darken the Air; for they fly in swarms that are sometimes several miles long, and will destroy the Corn they light on, tho' it be green, in less than two hours time. These insects live but six months: Rain kills 'em. and the Northern Wind blows them into the black Sea.

The first Revolt of the *Cossacks*, was under their General *John Podhovia*, who was worsted, and then beheaded; this happened after King *Stephen Battori's* death; for by that time they were become formidable, by reason of their native Valour, and being brought under military Discipline. They had been allowed many Privileges by that Great Prince, besides their

Common Pay; and he had joyned a Body of Polish Horse to them, and appointed the fourth part of his Customs for their subsistence; for which reason they are called *Quartani*. The vast Country beyond the Towns of *Blacklem, Bar,* and *Kiovia* had begun to be inhabited, and several Towns and Castles to be built by Colonies from neighbouring Provinces; and had not the change of religion, which the Polish Lords would have impos'd upon the *Cossacks*, occasioned the revolt, greater Improvements might have been made; and the second which happened in the year 1596 might have been prevented. Then the *Cossacks* had some Advantage over the Polish Army commanded by General *Zolskiewski*, and looked upon themselves as invincible: yet that able Warriour found means to press them so close, that he forced 'em to deliver him their General *Nolewaiko*, who was served like his Predecessor. Then they revolted a third time in 1637, as has been said, but with as ill success as before; and the Loss of their General and chief Officers at that time was attended with the forfeiture of their Privileges and of the town of *Trethin-irom*, and also with the suppression of their Souldery. After these disgraces when they were ready to try their Fortune again, they were at last promised a re-establishment; but this promise was not kept, for there was a new modell'd Militia established, and their General was often removed. Then the *Polanders* found the Inconveniency of the change by the Incursions of the *Tartars*; and King *Uladislaus* the IV, having a design to make war with the *Turks*, the *Cossacks* were resettled upon the antient Foot. But awhile after this upon some new occasions they shook off the Yoke of *Poland* under *Chomclenski*; and since that, having



ving sometimes partly submitted, and at others disclaim'd the Authority of the republick, their Country is now much depopulated, and they are divided among themselves. Some obey the *Muscovites*, and some the *Poles*, and many of them side sometimes with the *Turks*, sometimes with the *Poles* and sometimes with the *Muscovites*, according as they are successful, or offer them more advantageous Terms.

It may not be amiss to say something of the *Lithuanians* in particular, before we give an Account in general of the State of *Poland*, of which their Country now makes a Part.

*Lithuania* is for the most part very full of large Woods and Forests, as also Ponds and Lakes: Some of them of such an extent that they seem a kind of Sea. The Inhabitants are not less jealous of their Liberty than the *Poles*, taking great care that their Rights may not be infring'd by that Nation, their Associates, on one side, and that the *Muscovites* their Neighbours may not enslave them, as they have often endeavour'd; for tho' they agree with the latter in some things, as in their drink, which is chiefly *Mead* and *Metheglin*, as also *Brandy* which they drink alike to great excess; also in their way of Ploughing and Sowing, and many other matters in point of living, yet they have always lookt upon them as an inveterate and treacherous Enemy.

The *Peasants* are not less miserable there, and yet more ignorant than those of the Kingdom of *Poland*. They are in general used like Slaves by their Masters, and often very barbarously by the Servants, and Attendants of the Nobility, principally in time of War; for then they make nothing of entring their Huts, and plundering what they can. The poor Rusticks have no admittance into their Lord's Presence without Presents, and  
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if it be their Fortune to have access to them, they are commonly directed to make their complaint to the Judges, who are sure to do them but little good, unless the *Plaintiffs* bring them Presents to recommend their Petitions; so that every word of the Judge in *Lithuania* is money. Four days commonly, and sometimes five or six in a week, the Wretches must work for their Lords: On Mundays they are allowed to drudge for themselves, and as they have not time enough on other days, they frequently do all manner of work on Sundays, (for the *Peasants* keep no manner of Saints Holy-days there) having that also particular to them with the *Russians*, that if you ask them, why they presume to work on the Lord's day, they will answer you with this question, whether they must not eat on the Lord's day? They are oblig'd to pay a Tax three or four times a year towards defraying the charges of guarding the *Frontiers*, besides several other heavy Impositions of their Lord's devising. Their Bread is the brownest and coarsest, the Wheat and Ears of Corn being commonly ground together. They have very little Horses, which yet are excellent for service, either in War or Husbandry: They do not plough the Ground with Iron, but with Wood, which seems the stranger, because their soil is generally hard and not sandy. When they go to plough, they take along with them several pieces of Wood, which they use instead of Plough shares, and when one is broken, they presently clap another into the Plough. A certain great man, to ease those poor men in that hard labour, caus'd several Iron Plough-shares to be fabricated; but as the following years by reason of the badness of the weather there were no plentiful Harvests, they *Peasants* positively ascribed the sterility of the Ground to those

those Iron Plough-shares ; insomuch that to avoid a sedition, they were permitted to use their old Way. Their Dress is generally a coarse Ash-colour'd Habit, with a sort of Buskings or Boots, made of the skins of Beasts after they have taken off the hair. They have a sort of light Carts, about which they make use of no manner of Iron-work ; and as they never grease them, when many of them are driven together, the Axel-trees make a strange uncouth sort of a Noise. In some places in the Country, if any one of the *Peasants* has committed a Crime for which his Lord thinks fit to condemn him to die, the Criminal is obliged to hang himself, and be his own Executioner ; and if he refuses, he is compell'd to do it with Threats and Blows. As 'tis not many hundred years since the *Lithuanians* became Christians, there are some of the meaner sort still in the Country so stupidly ignorant as to retain many things of their Ancestors Idolatrous Worship ; these keep a sort of swarthy serpents which they look upon as their tutelary Divinities, feeding them with great Care and Respect, and attributing their ill Fortune to their neglect of those Animals. Not long ago the *Lithuanian* Rusticks us'd to offer sacrifices about the latter end of *October* to an imaginary Deity whom they called *Ziemiennick*. Those of *Samogitia* and *Russia* us'd to do the like. Neither were those of *Livonia* less idolatrous, having been taught Christianity, not only by preaching and apostolical Admonitions, but also by force of Arms. This gave Birth to the Order of *Livonian* Knights ; who first styl'd themselves Sword-bearing Fryers, or Brothers ; and these finding themselves unable to fight the *Livonians* out of their ancient Belief and Liberty, in time call'd in the *Teutonic* Knights of *Prussia* to their assistance, by which means

means they at last prevailed. Being at last incorporated with them by Pope Gregory IX, the *Livonian* Masters were oblig'd to pay homage and certain Tributes to the Masters of *Prussia*, till the time of *Albert* Marquess of *Brandenburg*, who about the year 1513 parted with that yearly Tribute and Homage for a large sum of Money. Thus the *Livonian* Knights, by degrees and also the several Bishops and Arch Bishops became so many Sovereigns, till after many Wars, the whole Country of *Livonia* was subdued by *Sigismund Augustus* King of *Poland*; tho' since it has been quitted to the *Swedes*, who are now Masters of it.

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## CHAP. VI.

### *Of the State of POLAND.*

**T**He *Polanders* have at all times had an Inclination to War: Infomuch, that at first they continually went arm'd, as if they had been just ready to engage their Enemies; and indeed all their business was to rove about and change their Station from time to time, more like Shepherds, than like settled Inhabitants of any particular Place; neither were they ever in safety, for they were on one side always ready to be attacked by the *Germans*, and by the *Scythians* on the other: So that they had many Wars and bloody Conflicts with both those Nations. Yet tho' there never was any solid Friendship between them and the *Germans*, at last their way of Living, and the Care they took to keep their word to one another, made them Accustom themselves more to them than to the *Scythians*.

In the beginning, the *Polanders* had neither Laws nor Princes to govern them, and liv'd after an uncontroul'd manner; but as no Nation can remain long without Rulers, principally in time of War, they afterwards us'd to chuse among themselves a Chief, who was commonly the most Famous person for Valour among them, and they us'd to obey him as a Leader: but his Authority lasted no longer than the War. All the People resolutely followed him, Arm'd with Bows, and Arrows, Partisans and long Launces; the Women attended their Husbands, pretending to witchcraft & the Knowledge of the future Events of Battles. The Men never us'd to betake themselves to flight; & whosoever ran away was never suffer'd to return to his Party: This being esteem'd the greatest shame and ignominy among them. They came in time to have Knights, which was the next Dignity to their Chief Captain, and those were also never chosen but out of the Bravest; after they had signaliz'd their Valour against the Enemy. They Worship'd the Sun, the Moon, Mars, and diverse other false Divinities, having certain Places and Rites appropriated to pay them their Adoration. They buried the dead in Forests, and Fields, laying high heaps of stones over their Tombes, as may be still seen in many places in *Russia*; others, according to the *Roman* way, us'd to burn the dead Bodies, and layd up the ashes in Urns: Few things satisfi'd them for their Food. They had nothing which they properly call'd their own, except their Bow, their Partisan, and Lance: They purchased what ever they wanted of others by the way of Barter or Exchange. They wore coarse Garments made of the skins of Wild Beasts, down to their heels; despising all Rich Dresses, Treasures, Houses  
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and possessions: They made an end of all private Controversies, by the way of Arms in publick.

This was their way of Living then, which is not yet altogether abolished in some places. But in Process of Time, Princes, and then Kings were brought in among them: Yet with a more limited authority than in other Countries, and after an Elective manner. As for Laws, King *Casimir* introduced the *Teutonick* there, in the Year 1368. and Established a Sovereign Court of Justice, at the Castle of *Cracow*, as in the middle of his Kingdom; for *Poland* was then of a far greater Extent than 'tis now, so that the City of *Cracow* was, in a manner in the middle of that Great State; whereas at this time, it may be almost call'd a Frontier Town, since it is but twelve Leagues from thence to *Silesia*, which was then a province of *Poland*, and now belongs to the Emperor of *Germany*, on the account of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

The Kings us'd always to have a right to make the People take up arms, as often as it was necessary; and every Man was excited to give some proofs of Valor, because there was no other means to rise, and obtain the Right of Nobility; neither was there any other Reward to be expected. As for those who were not stirr'd up by the desire of honour and advancement, the fear of punishment us'd to prevail with them; for those who did not obey the King's Orders were either whipt with Cords, or cudgel'd into fighting, which convinc'd the rest of the Necessity of taking arms with all speed.

In those days it was not the Custom to levy Military Men with Money in *Poland*, for there was none at that time, in that Kingdom, where they then till'd the Ground, barely to supply the Necessity

sity of the Inhabitants, and had no thoughts of exporting Corn out of the Country, nor of importing those things that serve only for Superfluity and good Chear.

The Soyl, which is fruitful of it self, suppli'd every one with a sufficient substance; so that the *Peasants* were not compell'd to work hard; for if they wrought never so little, they did enough for their Masters, and for themselves. But as soon as the *Polish* Gentlemen began to exchange Corn for foreign Merchandises, and *Riches* and *Luxury* were brought into that Kingdom, the Military Vigour began to abate, and the Slavery of the *Peasants* became intollerable.

*Poland* is now properly a Republick, and 'tis by that Name that the *Polanders* call it, looking upon their King as being no more than the head of their Common wealth. This makes them lessen the King's authority more and more, when a new one is to be elected, still enlarging their own privileges, and taking care that his prerogative may not grow too great: They are indeed so jealous of their Liberty and so afraid of losing it, that they will not have any fortifyed towns upon the *Frontiers*, for fear the King should put a Garrison in it, and so should make himself absolute Master of all the Nobility by degrees. That sentiment is so strongly rooted within their hearts that they prepossess their Children with it betimes, making them believe that their native Freedom would soon be lost, if ever they suffered any town to be fortifyed upon the *Frontiers*. But they do not consider, that while they design to shun a great Evil, they fall into another that is worse; since their Neighbours who are all of them their Enemies, finding the Country open, easily invade it, and from time to time make themselves Masters of some part of their  
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state before the *Polanders* can be in a Condition to oppose their Irruptions, as the *Swedes* did, which I have already mentioned.

The Republick of *Poland* is composed of three Orders, the King, the Senate, and the Nobility or Gentry. Thus all the Rites and Privileges are joyntly holden by those three Orders; insomuch that there can be no Laws made nor abrogated, no War levied, no alliance concluded with Foreigners, no Impositions laid, nor no money coyned, but with the joynt Consent of the whole Republick, or of the Senators that are deputed for that end; therefore some of these are always near the King's person, in order to preserve the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom.

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## CHAP. VII.

## Of the KING.

**T**He King disposes of all the consistorial Benefices, and of many others; as also of all the Offices and Places of profit in the Gift of the Crown; for he cannot keep them to himself, and is obliged to bestow them upon the Gentlemen of *Poland*, and not upon Foreigners, tho' they have never so much personal Merit, or have done never so much service to the Republick; for the *Polanders* are so jealous of Foreigners, that they cannot endure that the King should make them any considerable Gratification: As for Instance,

In the Reign of King *Stephen Batori*, the *Hungarians* had been very serviceable to the Republick in the War against the *Muscovites*. Now that brave Prince, who had invited many of 'em into *Poland*, to repell that encroaching Enemy with their Assistance, thought himself obliged to bestow some suitable Rewards upon them; but he had no sooner done this, but that several of the Great Men of *Poland* were strangely exasperated, particularly the Great General who resented it so highly that he resigned his place upon that Account: Many others also murmur'd openly against that Prince; which usage may seem the more ungenerous and ungrateful, seeing they were so much obliged to that Warlike King, who had atcheived braver and greater Actions for *Poland*, than any of his Predecessors. Thus all that a Foreigner can pretend to in that Republick, can amount to no more than the obtaining the Command of a Regiment of Foot, or the Grant of some little Royal Gift. Besides, that

he may be duely qualified for the possession of it; he must first be made a Gentleman of *Poland*, for otherwise the King cannot bestow any such thing upon him; however there are some little Royal Gifts and Benefices, which a man may hold without being a Gentleman of *Poland*.

But in the main, 'tis so certain, that there is a necessity of being made a Gentleman of *Poland*, to possess an Estate or Place of considerable Profit in that Kingdom, that King *Stephen Battori*, whom we just now mentioned, thought fit to procure the *Indigenate*, that is the right of Nobility, to two of his Kins-men at the Sessions of the Diet which he had summon'd to meet the 13 of *December* 1386. For, as he had no Children, he was desirous of advancing those of his Brother, and was perswaded that this Naturalization would enable him to prefer them to something more considerable. But that Great Prince was prevented by Death, in the fifty fourth year of his age, after he had reigned ten years.

One would be apt to think, that this mighty Power, which the King of *Poland* has to dispose of so many places of Trust and Profit, of so many Lands by Royal Tenure, and of so many Benefices, must need gain him the Love and Affection of those on whom they are conferr'd, and engage them to follow the Dictates of his Will, with a blind Obedience; for there are few Kings in *Europe*, that have more favours to bestow than that Prince, neither can any other in less time make a very rich Lord, of a poor Gentleman. But it happens quite otherwise: For, not to speak of the Temper of the *Polanders*, who naturally are none of the most grateful; they know too well that their King cannot dispose of any of those Preferments to any others, but only to themselves, and they believe that, when he grants

grants them any such Places, Revenues or Benefices, he only gives 'em back what belongs to them by their native Right; and that thus his grant is not so much an act of Grace, as a piece of Justice. The rather, because, as I have already said, the King neither ought nor can keep or convert any of those Revenues to his own particular Use or Benefit; nor can he suppress any Place of Trust or Profit in the Kingdom. Besides, the Nobility would not easily suffer him to give the least thing to Foreigners; for that powerful Body is so jealous of its Liberty, that it will not give the King the least Opportunity of encreasing his Prerogative and Authority, by gaining creatures that would solely depend upon him.

The King does not succeed his Predecessor; no, not tho' he were his Father. But he is freely elected by the Nobility, who meet by their Deputies in a General Diet, which always ought to be kept near *Warsaw*. However, though a King's Children have no manner of right in the Republick, yet is there always a due regard had to them: Insomuch that 'tis commonly one of them upon whom the Election falls, after the decease of his Father. But nevertheless, this is always done with the same Ceremonies, and still observing the same rules as if a Stranger were elected; the *Polanders* taking great care to preserve their right of not chusing one of the deceased King's Family, believing that their Happiness lies chiefly in the Power which they have to make choise of what Prince they please.

They have not only a due regard to the Sons of their Kings, their Consideration extends also to their Daughters, and even to their Widows, of which I will here relate some Examples.

*Lewis* King of *Poland* and *Hungary* being dead the 13 of *December* 1382, and having left no other Issue than two Daughters, the Republick met at *Radom* in order to proceed to the Election of a New King. Part of the Senators inclin'd to chuse *Stogismund* Marquess of *Brandenburg* who had wedded the eldest of those two Princesses. The other part were for *Hedwige*, who was the youngest and not yet of age to be married. Thus after many Consultations it was resolved at last in the Diet that was kept at *Vielicza*, that some Deputies should be sent by the Republick to Queen *Elizabeth*, who was then in *Hungary* with the Princess *Hedwige* her Daughter, to entreat her to send that Lady into *Poland*, and inform her that the Senate had resolved to crown her Queen, and to elect a Prince that would be in a condition to marry her. Queen *Elizabeth* who had no mind that this Princess should marry so young, and besides that, had a Design to wed her to the Duke of *Austria*, to whom she had been betroth'd in King *Lewis* her Father's life time, sent to acquaint the Diet which was then held at *Seradia*, that she would send the Princess *Hedwige* into *Poland* at the following *Easter*; but that she desired that she might return after that into *Hungary* to remain with her the space of three years, till she were of age to be married.

The Senators of *Poland*, having receiv'd this answer, did not think fit to proceed to the Election of a King, till the Arrival of the Princess, according to the promise of the Queen her Mother: But finding that she had not sent her into *Poland* at the time appointed, the Senate did a second time depute some of the Nobility to let the Queen know, that tho' the Affairs of the Republick of *Poland* were in such a condition as highly required the presence of a King

King, yet they were contented to stay for the Princess till the Month of *November* 1383. Now the Queen having neglected to send her Daughter *Hedwige* that second time, the *Polanders* sent her some Deputies a third time, about the beginning of the following year. But Queen *Elizabeth* having also broke her word to them that time, the Senate being met at *Radom*, sent one single Deputy to acquaint her, that it had been resolv'd in the Diet, not to send any more to her, and that, if she had a mind that her daughter *Hedwige* should be Queen, they would still wait for her till the 8 of *May*; but that, if after that time she did not appear, the Republick would proceed according as might be thought most adviseable in the pressing necessity which they laboured under for want of a King.

The Queen having heard the Senate's final resolution, instead of sending her Daughter *Hedwige* into *Poland*, advis'd her Son-in-Law *Sigismund* to go thither with some Forces to govern the Republick till her Daughter *Hedwige* were grown up. But as soon as the *Polanders* heard of *Sigismund's* Approach, they rais'd some men with all speed to oppose that Prince, whom they particularly hated. At the same time they sent to let him know, that if he presumed to enter *Poland*, they would declare themselves his open Enemies; this oblig'd him to go back, and send to desire them to stay till the *Whitsuntide* following for the Princess *Hedwige's* Coming. Accordingly they staid; and not only till then, but also till the month of *October* after that, at which time she arriv'd at *Cracow*, where immediately she was crown'd Queen of *Poland* on St. *Hedwige* of *Lignitz's* Day.

I thought fit to relate this passage to demonstrate that the *Poles* have no common Regard to

the royal progeny ; nor do I think that any thing can illustrate that Respect more than the patience with which they waited ; and that too at a time while they had so much need of Electing a King. For the Kingdom was then disturb'd, not only by the Duke of *Masovia*, who having a considerable party in the Republick, endeavour'd to be made King of *Poland*, as being one of the royal Family of *Casimir* the Great ; but the *Lithuanians* and the *Russians* also were not a little troublesome, and there were then many Robberies, Plunderings, and strange disorders committed every where, with Impunity, because the Kingdom was destitute of a Head.

When *Hedwige* had been crowned, and the Republick was studying how to get her a proper Husband, *Jagello* Duke of *Lithuania* sent his two Brothers to her with very considerable Presents, and at the same time offered to renounce his idolatrous Worship, and turn Christian, as also to endeavour to make his Subjects do the same, and to unite his Dutchy to the Crown of *Poland* for the future, and present the Republick with two hundred thousand Livres ; all this provided he might marry *Hedwige*, and be elected King of *Poland*. These advantageous Proposals were hearkened to, and granted, and accordingly he was elected King. By these means *Lithuania* was in time united to *Poland*, and from an Hereditary State, is become a part of an Elective Republick. Which change some of the Kings of the race of *Jagello* did not altogether approve, nor can it be said, that it was fully effected till the Extinction of that Family ; for, being unwilling to deprive their Heirs of an Hereditary Right, by submitting to make *Lithuania* elective, they still delayed the Confirmation of the Convention, alledging that the Nobility and

people of *Lithuania* would never suffer it, lest by such an Union they should lose their antient degree and dignity. Things remain'd in this condition while there were Princes of that Family to be elected: At last the *Lithuanians* perceiving that it was extinct as to Males, after the death of King *Sigismund Augustus*, and being afraid of Irruptions from their incroaching Neighbours the *Muscovites*, they consented to an Union.

The Example of *Stephen Batori*, verifies also what we have already said of the regard which the *Poles* have to the Royal Family in point of Election. For, that Prince was chosen King of *Poland* only upon Condition that he should marry the Princess *Anne*, Sister to *Sigismund Augustus*, who dyed without Issue, and was the last of the Family of the *Jagellones*. I must own that there were several Reasons which concurr'd to cause the *Polanders* to impose that Condition on *Stephen Batori*; for thus they did not only express their respect to the *Jagellonian* Family, but avoided the Expences which they must otherwise have been at, for the maintaining of two Princesses. But that which engaged them the rather to act thus, was the Abdication of *Henry of Valois* King of *Poland* who had refused to marry her; for that Prince having received the News of the death of *Charles IX.* his Brother, privately left *Poland* the 18 of June 1574, and returned to *France*, after he had been crown'd at *Cracow* the 24 of February, and had remain'd five months with the Republick.

The *Polanders* therefore, believing that they would thus more strongly bind *Stephen Batori* to their Interest, oblig'd him to marry the Princess *Anne*, tho' she was somewhat elderly. But this prov'd of a very unhappy Consequence for all

the Church of Sweden : For *Stephen Battori* dying afterwards at *Irodne*, on the 12 of December 1586, without leaving any Issue, the Republick still having a regard to the Family of the *Jagellones*, chose *Sigismund* the third, the Son of *John* King of Sweden and of *Catharine*, Sister to *Sigismund Augustus*, and thus Nephew to Queen *Anne*, *Stephen Battori's* Widow. By reason of which Election, *Sigismund* being oblig'd to make *Poland* the place of his residence, left the Government of Sweden to his Uncle the Duke of *Södermania*, who afterwards made himself Master of the Kingdom where he abolished the *Roman Religion*, and establish'd the *Lutheran* which he publicly profess.

What I have said of the *Polanders*, as to their preferring the Offspring of their Kings before others, is so true, that from the beginning of their acknowledging a Regal State, even at a time when they were all strangers to the Christian religion, they chose *Venda* to be their Queen, being the only person that was left of the Line of *Cracus* their third King. Long after this, *Lewis* King of *Poland* and *Hungary* having chosen for his Successor, *Sigismund* Marquess of *Brandenburg*, who had wedded his eldest Daughter ; the Republick met at *Radom*, in the year 1312, and the Diet pass'd a Constitution, whereby *Sigismund* was excluded ; however declaring at the same time, that there should be a due regard had to the Princess his Wife. The Great Men of the Kingdom gave afterwards their Votes for *Ziemowit*, Duke of *Masovia*, upon condition he would wed *Hedwige* who was King *Lewis's* Daughter. But Queen *Elizabeth* her Mother would not consent that her Daughter should marry so inconsiderable a Prince as was the Duke of *Masovia*, tho' he was of the Royal House of *Casimir* the Great.

I have said, that the *Polanders* have not only  
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some Consideration for all those of the Royal Family; but that they have also a great regard to the Widows of their Kings. It was for this reason that they oblig'd King *John Casimir* to marry Queen *Maria Aloisia* the Widow of *Uladislaus* the fourth, his Brother, who died without Issue. This will further appear, by the Proposal that was made to Queen *Elconor* of *Austria*, the Widow of King *Michael*, during the Diet of Election in the year 1674. For the *Poles* insisted upon that Queen's marrying the Prince of *Newburg*, for whom the French us'd their Interest; in-somuch, that on the 18 of *May*, four Bishops came to that Queen, and assur'd her, that provided she would consent to wed that Prince, he would certainly be elected, and that by this means the minds of all the different parties would be re-united. But Queen *Elconor*, who is the Emperors Sister, and who then did nothing but by the Advice of Chancellor *Patz*, and the motions of the Ministers of the Court of *Vienna*, made them no other answer, but that she had some Friends in the Diet who would take care of her Interest.

*Adam Trzebicki* Bishop of *Cracow*, was one of the four that were deputed on that account to the Queen, and afterwards to Chancellor *Patz*, who as I have said, was her chief Councillor. But that Chancellor, who had a mind the Election should fall on Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, whom the Emperor did very earnestly recommend, made answer, That he would have no other but the Prince of *Lorraine*, and not the Prince of *Newburg*. The event soon convinc'd him of his error, and made him know, that he had taken wrong Measures, and not understood his true Interest. For as he had govern'd King *Michael*, and still had an absolute sway over the mind of the Queen, he might easily have govern'd also the Prince

Prince of *Newburgh* who was young, and whom his Queen might have inclin'd as she would have thought fit.

The Chancellor *Ratze* was so positive in his Opinion, that it was a very difficult matter to make him alter it: He was a Man of his word, and when ever he had engag'd it to any body, he was sure to keep it inviolably, his own Interest not being able to make him Recant. And indeed the Conference which he had with the Prince of *Newburgh's* Embassador at *Belveder* (whither I kept him Company) made it plainly appear that his own Interest alone was not sufficient to make him alter his Measures. For I understood afterwards from him, that considerable Offers had been made him, and that it had been Represented to him, what Advantages the Election of the Prince of *Newburgh* would bring to all his Family. But all this did not in the least affect him; and so that Conference was to no purpose, neither for him nor for the Prince of *Newburgh*: Nay, even his Lady, tho' a French-woman, of the House of *Maisy*, could never be brought to side with the French Faction, tho' very Advantageous Offers were made to her. She was Lady of Honour to Queen *Eleonor*, and had promis'd her to be faithful to her, which she did inviolably. This unshaken Fidelity in an *Austrian* French-woman was such, that even the French themselves could not but admire and esteem it, it being their Nature to Prefer that Vertue to all the Advantages that can be propos'd to them, to engage them to part with it.

France had then almost all the Princes of Europe its Enemies, but was still so Fortunate, that Heaven would not so much as suffer her to compass those Things which She most Earnestly desir'd, when in process of Time those Things might have been Prejudicial to her Interest. Thus the Di-

vine Providence would not permit the Prince of *Newburgh* to be chosen King of *Poland*, tho' France us'd all her Endeavours to make the Choice fall upon him; which if it had taken effect, would undoubtedly have been disadvantageous to that Nation; for, that Prince would not have fail'd to have prov'd her Enemy, as did his Father soon after, having Married his Daughter to the Emperor.

I return now to what I have already said, that it is in the King of *Poland's* Power to dispose of all the Places and Offices in the Kingdom and Dutchy. Those on whom he bestows them, ought not only to be Gentlemen of *Poland*, but ought also to be posselt of some Estate in Land, in the State or Country, to which the said Place or Office properly belongs. So that a Gentleman whose Estate lyes all in the Kingdom of *Poland*, cannot have an Office in the Dutchy of *Lithuania*; neither can he whose Estate is altogether in the Dutchy, have an Office in the Kingdom; which Order is regularly observ'd, tho' the *Polanders* and the *Lithuanians* are now properly but one Body, and are no more than one People; differing but in few things as to their manner of Living. Nevertheless in the time that I liv'd in *Lithuania*, I have observ'd that the Politer part of the *Lithuanians* come nearer to to the *French* than the *Polanders* do in all their wayes, and particularly in their Briskness, and Gayty, tho' *Lithuania* is remoter from *France* than *Poland*.

When the King of *Poland* enters a City, the Magistrates ought alwayes to bring him the Keys; and he has power to make his own Regiment of Guards keep watch at the Gates. The Citizens of *Dantzick* alone, have the priviledge of Guarding their own Gates when the King enters that City; nay, they have a Right to hinder any Forces from

from entering with the King, and to go the Rounds all Night in the Streets, as long as he stays within their Walls. But it must indeed be Acknowledg'd, that *Dantzic*, which is one of the most Considerable Hans-Towns, is properly a free Republic, under the Protection of *Poland*. Consequently it has all the marks of an Entire Sovereignty: For it condemns to Death without Appeal, even the Gentlemen of *Poland* themselves, if they happen to commit any Crime there that deserves a Capital Punishment. It has a Mint of its own, and Coins its own Money, without any previous Leave or Permission obtain'd from the Republic of *Poland*, tho' they Stamp the Kings Image upon it; and they are not Oblig'd to take in payment the base Money of that State; however, tho' the people of *Dantzic* may thus be reckon'd a Republic and particular Sovereign State, they are nevertheless Oblig'd to send to the *Diet* some Deputies, who never fail to speak in the Name of the *Senate* of *Dantzic*, and who Consequently never fail to be Interrupted by the Chancellor, who always desires them to be Silent, forbidding them to take that Quality upon them, which yet they are sure to take afterwards in the following *Diet*.

*Dantzic* is Scituated about a League from the *Baltic* Sea, and almost at the mouth of the River *Vistula*. That City, till the Year 1170 consisted only of some Fishermen's Cottages, but has rais'd it self since that time, to such a height of Greatness, that it passes now for one of the Principal Cities of *Europe*: It must indeed be own'd, that it is a Fine and Stately Place, and its Port, or Harbour very Famous; but of difficult Access, because the *Vistula* divides it self into several Branches, before it discharges it self into the Sea; and that Branch which goes to *Dantzic* is one of the least  
of

of them, which is the reason that Great Ships have not Water enough to Anchor with their Lading thro' that Branch into the Harbour of *Dantzic*: Between the Mouth of the River and the Port, there lyes a Fort which is call'd the *Light-house*, because there is a Beacon in it where there is a Light every Night, that the Ships which are coming into the Harbour may discover it a far off.

*Dantzic* is the Town of the Greatest Trade in all *Prussia*; most of which Traffick consists in Corn, as doth almost all the Trade of *Poland*: The *Dantzickers* have such a priviledge that none but themselves, can be allowed to buy any Corn of the *Polanders*, when once it is enter'd in their Port, whether vast Quantities are brought to them from all Parts by the *Vistula*; half the Revenue of the Port belong'd to the King of *Poland* since the time that King *Sigismund Augustus* oblig'd the *Dantzickers* to grant him that Tribute, for their presumption in proposing some Provoking Conditions to him, before they would suffer his Deputies to come into their City.

*Dantzic* is the Capital City of all *Prussia*; 'tis about Seven Leagues from *Elbing*, and Twenty Six from *Thorn*; 'tis well enough Fortifi'd (considering the Country) since the Irruption which the *Sweedes* made into *Poland* in the Year 1655. But there are some Grounds that overlook and command it on the West-side.

From this Town the *Polanders* draw what Goods they want of Foreign Growth and Manufacture; as Cloth, Silks, Stuffs, Leather, Paper, Sugar, Oyls, and all the Spices which they use in very great quantities to Season their Fish and other Meat: I do not speak of the Wines and Brandy, nor of the Salt which is brought thither from *France*, and worth but a Crown the French *Muid* or Hoghead; because as for Wine the

*Poles*

*Poles* like no other but that of *Hungary*; as for Brandy they make it at home with Corn; and as for Salt, their Countrey abounds with it. Thus the Wines, Brandy and Salt that come from *France* to *Dantzic* serve only for *Prussia*; however there are such considerable quantities of other Goods exported from *Dantzic* to *Poland*, and so great a Return made from that Kingdom thither in Corn, Money, and other Things, that, as it is the only Place from which they draw all their Necessaries, and to which they Trade, 'tis not in the least to be admir'd how that Town is come to be so Rich and Considerable.

All the *Dantzickers* were formerly Roman Catholics: But they Embraced the *Lutheran* persuasion in the last Age, as did most of the *Northern Nations*. They began to imbibe that Doctrine in the Year 1525. in the Reign of *Sigismund* the first, who did not dare to oppose it, because he was afraid of engaging in a War with the *Teutonic Knights*, the Truce which he had made with them being then near expir'd. *Sigismund Augustus* having afterwards receiv'd the Homage and Oath of Fidelity to himself and the Republick from *Albert Duke of Prussia*, he confirm'd the people of *Prussia* in their Ancient Rights and Privileges, and gave them leave to make open profession of the *Lutheran* Belief, according to the *Augsburg* Confession.

The greatest part of the Inhabitants of *Dantzic* are *Lutherans*, and the other part *Calvinists*, there being only some few Roman Catholics, and Anabaptists; for there is an entire Liberty of Conscience, yet in such a manner, that the whole Government is in the hands of the *Lutherans*; none of the other Sects being admitted to a share. The Roman Catholics have a Church there which is a Convent of *Dominican Monks*, which serves for a Parish to all those that reside in the Town: The *Jesuits* have also

also a House in the Suburbs, where there is likewise a Nunnery. As for the *Lutherans*, they have that Stately Church which was of Old enjoy'd by the *Roman Catholics*, and which is one of the finest Buildings that I have seen in *Poland*. 'Tis Worthy Observation, that at *Dantzic*, even among the *Lutherans*, they acknowledge the Popes *Audience* that resides in *Poland*, in several Ecclesiastical Cases, as for Licenses, and Dispensations to Marry in a degree forbidden by the Canons.

I have no more to say of the City of *Dantzic*, but only that it disclaims the Jurisdiction of *Poland*; its Inhabitants saying, that it did not submit to the *Polanders*, but only to the King. To vindicate that right of Exemption the *Dantzickers* took Arms in the Year 1576, and march'd as far as *Dirschow* upon the *Vistula* with some Forces which they had rais'd, under the Command of a certain Officer call'd John of *Cologne*, who had before that defended *Mariburg*. But they were defeated by the army of *Poland*; however, the King afterwards forgave them, at the Intreaty of the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*.

The King of *Poland* cannot send any Ambassadors to foreign Princes, nor receive any from 'em without the Senates Consent, tho' 'tis he that is to give them Audience. Neither can he leave the Kingdom upon any Account, let the Importance be what it will. *Sigismund III*, having heard of the death of his Father John King of *Sweden*, summon'd a Diet at *Warsaw* in the month of May 1592, that the *Republick* might consent to the Journey, which he intended to take into *Swedeland*. And *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, who was chosen King of *Poland* in the year 1370, having a desire to return into *Hungary*, was obliged to ask consent, and to enlarge the Privileges of the Nobility that he might obtain it. The

The King of *Poland* has a right to judge and determine civil and criminal Cases. The definitive Sentences in all Jurisdictions are pass according to the Majority of Votes. But in criminal Cases, the King's single Vote saves the Offenders Life: And this, because he has a right to pardon all manner of Criminals, by what Tribunal soever they be condemned. But 'tis otherwise in the Decision of those affairs, that concern the Republick, which are handled in a general Diet, where all the Nobility is assembled by its Deputies; for then it is absolutely necessary to have the unanimous Consent of all those Deputies, whose number is considerable, before any thing can be concluded and determined. So that as often as any one Member of the Assembly will not consent, and enters his protestation, the Diet breaks off, and all the Deputies depart; nor can the King oblige 'em to stay, nor get another Diet to assemble till three months after that which then broke off.

But tho' a King of *Poland* can hardly do any thing by himself, yet he may take Cognisance of the payment of the Soldiers, regulate their number, and command the Army. Not but that he that is great General of it still has a great Authority over the Soldiers, as I will shew hereafter.



## CHAP. VIII.

*Of the Senate in General.*

THE Senate of Poland is Compos'd of the *Bishops, Palatines, Castellans*, and the *Ten Officers of State*, whose Dignity Entitles them to a place in that Assembly: It was Instituted to Regulate, according to the Justice and Equity of the Laws, all that is Transacted, for the Good and Security of the *State*. The King Creates the Senators, and before he Advances them to that Honour, makes them take an Oath of Fidelity to the Republick: But, after they are once admitted into that Body, they cannot be afterwards displac'd. In the General Diet they sit at the Right and Left hand of the King, according to their Dignity, and not according to the Seniority of their Reception. 'Tis they, who, with the King, Approve and Ratify all the Constitutions which the Nobility propose to them by their Deputies. So that the Senators are, as it were, Mediators betwixt the King and the Nobility, to preserve and defend the Authority of the Republick. For, 'tis in this order that the Authority is properly lodg'd, not by reason of the great Number of Persons of which it is Compos'd, but by a Power they derive from the Laws, which determine their respective Duties and Privileges.

The Senators value their Dignity so much, that they despise all the Titles of Honour which the Emperours are wont to bestow. Thus when *Sigismund King of Poland*, and his Brother *Vladislaus King of Hungary* went to *Vienna*, the Emperour offer'd to confer upon the Senators, who accompany'd them, the Title of *Princes of the Empire*, which they refus'd

to accept of, saying, 'That since they were Gentle-  
'men of *Poland*, and had Power to Treat with their  
'King, both of Peace and War, he did them an In-  
'jury to think, that the Title of Prince of the Em-  
'pire could either be more honourable or great  
'than that of Senatour of the Republick of *Po-  
'land*.

The Senators Swear to maintain the Rights, Li-  
berties and Privileges of the Republick against all  
opposition: So that if the King should attempt to  
extend his Power beyond the Laws and Liberties,  
which he is obliged by Oath to preserve, the Senators  
may put him in mind of his Duty and Oath, without  
losing that respect which is due to His Majesty.  
And therefore there ought always to be Four Sena-  
tors at Court, both to assist the King with their  
Counsel, and to see that nothing be done contrary  
to their Privileges, which the *Polanders* believe to  
be the only way to secure the Liberty of their Re-  
publick. 'Tis also to be observed, that none of  
the Senators must go out of the Kingdom without  
leave obtain'd of the Republick, not even for change  
of Air, or to drink the Waters, &c. for the Reco-  
very of their Health.

## CHAP. IX.

*Of the Senate in particular, and first of the Bi-  
shops.*

**A**LL the *Bishops* are Senators, and Precede the  
Secular Members. There are but 16 *Bisho-  
pricks* in the Kingdom, 3 of which are Usurp'd by  
its Enemies, viz. those of *Smolensko* and *Kiowia* by  
the *Muscovites*, and that of *Caminiec* by the *Turks*.  
Nevertheless the Dignities are still retain'd, and  
when

when they become vacant, there are always a considerable number of Competitors, who solicit the King for those Titles, that they may have a place in the *Senate*.

The *Archbishop* of *Gnesna* is Apostolical Legat by his Office, the first of all the Bishops and Senators, and Primate of the Kingdom. These Privileges were annex'd to this See by the Council of *Constance*, whither he, who was then Archbishop, was sent by King *Uladislaus Jagellon*, to assert his Right to *Prussia*, against the *Teutonical* Knights. For that Prelate being inform'd, that, during his Absence, the King had Married *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the *Palatine* of *Sandomir*, Anno 1416. and caused her to be Crown'd at *Cracow* by the Archbishop of *Leopold*; and fearing lest he and his Successors shou'd be depriv'd of the Privilege of Crowning the King, prevail'd with the Council to Declare and Ordain, that the Archbishop of *Gnesna* should from thenceforth be Primate of the Kingdom. And 'tis for this reason that an Appeal may be brought before him, not only from the rest of the Bishops, but also from the Archbishop of *Leopold*. Afterwards, in the Year 1513. *John Laski* Archbishop of *Gnesna*, being sent to *Rome* by King *Sigismund*, to assist at the Council of *Lateran*, obtained of *Leo the Xth*, for himself, and all his Successors, the Quality of *Legatus natus*, of the Holy Apostolick See.

The Authority of this Prelate is so great, that 'tis not lawful to draw a Sword, or so much as to speak indecently in his presence. Besides, when the King acts contrary to the Laws, the *Archbishop* may Assemble the *Senate* and the *Nobility* to oppose him; and, during an *Interregnum*, he has Power to Coin Money.

The *Cross* is carried before him when he goes to the King, or to the *Diet*, and when he sits, an Almoner holds it behind his Chair. And as a

farther Mark of his Grandeur, he hath a *Senator* and *Castellan* of the Kingdom for his Marshal, who rides before his Coach, bearing his Staff upright, which he never bows but before the King; and when the other Marshalls are absent, he has the Privilege to carry the Staff upright before His Majesty, and to March before Him to Church, or to the *Diet*.

When the *Archbishop* comes to the Foot of the Stairs of the King's Palace, he stops there, till the King send the Chamberlain of the Crown, or some other of the Principal Officers of his Court to Salute him. The Sub-Marshal attends him at the top of the Stairs; and when he enters the Anti-Chamber, the King comes out of his Chamber to meet him. He never makes a Visit but to the *Pope's Nuncio*, whom he only Visits once, not even to the *Ambassadors* of Crown'd Heads, who have visited him. 'Tis he, who, during the *Interregnum*, is the Head and Regent of the Republick; and who regulates the Sentiments of all the Noblemen, who are Assembled, by their Deputies, in the *Diet* of the Election. 'Tis he who sends Circular Letters to all the Orders of the Republick, to give them notice of the King's Death, that they may hold their Petty *Diets*, and to acquaint them with the time of the General *Diet*. And when any extraordinary Affair happens during the *Interregnum*, some Noblemen and Senators are chosen to assist him with their Counsel in so difficult a Juncture.

The *Polanders* have lodg'd so great an Authority in the Person of this Prelate, because they durst not entrust a Lay-man with it, least his Ambition should prompt him to aspire to the Crown. For 'tis he who Proclaims the New King after he is Chosen; which is so great and so considerable a Privilege, that the *Ambassadors* of the Candidates look upon the *Archbishop* of *Gnesna* as the Person on whom the success of their Negotiation depends,

depends, and leave no means unattempted to gain his Favour, because the King cannot be duly Elect-ed, unless he be afterwards Proclaim'd. To confirm this, I shall relate what happen'd at the Election of the late King *John the Third*, in the Year 1674. One *Czartoreski*, of the Faction of *Austria*, an Intimate Friend of Chancellour *Putz*, and consequently a great Enemy to the *French* Faction, and the Marshal *Sobieski*, who was Chosen King, was then *Archbishop* of *Gnesna*, and in that Quality had the Power of Proclaiming the King. He would never have been prevail'd with to Proclaim the Great Marshal; but dying Three days before the Election, the right of Proclamation was devolv'd upon *Trzebicki* Bishop of *Cracow*, who being a Friend to the Marshal *Sobieski*, Proclaim'd him with Joy.

There are but 16 *Bishopricks* in *Poland*, as I have already observ'd; but they are generally of a vast extent, and Endow'd with great Revenues; which may be easily believ'd, if we consider that that Kingdom, after all its Losses, is still as large as *France*.

The *First* is the *Archbishoprick* of *Gnesna*, in Lower *Poland*, in the *Palatinate* of *Kalisch*, about 9 Leagues from that City, towards the North. This place which was once the Capital City of the Kingdom, is now only a great Unwall'd Village, without the conveniency of a River.

The *Second* is the *Archbishoprick* of *Leopold*, which is the Metropolis of *Black Russia*, and took its Name from *Leo*, Duke of that Province, who, as he was Ravaging *Poland* with an Army of *Tartars* and *Russians*, was entirely defeated by the *Castellan* of *Cracow*, Ann. 1279, in the Reign of *Lesko the Black*. This City is seated at the foot of the Mountains, very meanly Fortify'd, without a River, and defended only by an inconsiderable Castle upon an Eminence. 'Tis famous for the many Sieges it has

sustain'd, having been once Besieg'd by the *Cossacks* and *Tartars* with a formidable Army; at another time by the *Muscovites* and the *Cossacks*, with an Army of 120000 Men for the space of Two Moneths and a half; after which, they were constrain'd to raise the Siege; and, in the last place, by the *Turks* and *Tartars*, in the Reign of King *Michael*.

This City is the Seat of 3 Bishops, viz. a *Latin* Catholick *Archbishop*, an *Armenian* Catholick *Archbishop*, and a *Russian* Scismatical *Greek Bishop*. The first *Latin Archbishop* was a *Polish* Gentleman, called *Christinus*, who was Consecrated by the *Archbishop* of *Gnesna*, in the presence of King *Casimir*, who erected this See, Anno 1361.

I shall say nothing of the *Archbishops*, since they differ not from other Catholicks; only the *Armenians* have their particular Ornaments and Ceremonies, and the Men are separated from the Women in the Church. But I shall take this occasion to give a brief account of the peculiar Rites and Customs of the *Russians*.

Their Bishop is always an Unmarry'd Person, because he is chosen among the *Monks* of *St. Basil*, who are under the Vow of Chastity. As for the *Curats* of their Parishes, those who are admitted to Orders after their Marriage, are not oblig'd to separate from their Wives. But they cannot Marry after their Ordination, and when their Wives die, they must for ever afterwards live in Celibacy. Their Liturgy is in the *Russian* Language, which, as well as the *Polish*, is properly a Dialect of the *Slavonic*. They believe that the *Holy Ghost* proceeds from the *Father* by the *Son*; and that the *Pope* is not the Head of the whole Church, but only the first of the Two *Patriarchs*; and that he of *Constantinople*, whose Authority they acknowledge, is the Second; and yet Independant on the first. In all other Articles

ticles of Faith they agree with the Catholicks: But their Ceremonies and Ornaments are different from those of the *Latins* and *Armenians*; They Pray standing, and make a great number of Genuflexions, which they reckon with Beads. They Administer the Sacrament in both kinds after this manner. The *Priest* Consecrates several little Loaves of Leaven'd Bread, and after he has taken the Sacrament himself, he breaks these Loaves into little pieces, and puts them into the Chalice with the Consecrated Wine. Then with a little Silver Spoon, which serves only for that Use, he takes one of those pieces, with a little Wine, out of the Chalice, and gives the Sacrament to those who approach him, by pouring that little piece of Bread, with the Consecrated Wine, into the Mouth of each Communicant. They Communicate standing, holding their Arms a-cross their Breasts, and also make their little Children receive the Communion. After all the People have Communicated, the *Priest* consumes all that is left in the Chalice.

The *Third* Bishoprick is that of *Cracow*, which is the Capital City of the Kingdom, situated upon the *Vistula*, in the Upper, or Little Poland. This Bishoprick was heretofore an *Archbishoprick*, founded by *Miecslaus* in the Year 964. immediately after he had embraced the *Christian Faith*. But that Dignity was lost by one *Lampert*, who being of a Potent Family, neglected to send to *Rome* for the *Pallium*. 'Tis observable, that several Prelates have held both this Bishoprick and the *Archbishoprick* of *Gnesna* at the same time. The Bishop of *Cracow* styles himself Duke of *Siberia*. All the Nobility of that Dutchy are under his Authority, and are exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Royal Courts.

This Metropolis is compos'd of 3 Citties joyn'd together, viz. The Antient City which was built

by King *Cracus*, *Casimir*, which was built by *Casimir* the Great, with a design to establish an *Academy* in it, and that which is between them both, the two latter being joyned by a Bridge. The *Jews*, who before the Year 1494. were dispers'd promiscuously throughout the whole City, since that time are oblig'd to reside in *Casimir*; for, upon the occasion of a Fire, which burnt down part of the City, the Soldiers drove the *Jews* out of all the Houses they possess'd, and ever since they are only permitted to live in *Casimir*, from whence they come every Market-day to the Old City.

Queen *Hedwige*, the Wife of *Uladislaus Jagellon*, who was a Princess of great Vertue and Piety, designed to have finished the *Academy* which King *Casimir* the Great began to Erect at *Cracow*; and after the Death of that Queen, who left considerable Legacies to the Poor, the King, her Husband, took care to continue her Pious Design; in order to which he established 2 *Colleges* in that City, and brought Masters thither from *Prague* to instruct the Youth. These *Colleges* are almost like those of *Paris*. There are some endow'd Scholarships, and the Students are oblig'd to very little Exercise. In one of these *Colleges*, which is call'd the *Academy*, there is a certain number of poor Scholars, who receive Weekly Charity to keep them from starving; which, with what they get by begging Alms in the Streets at Night, enables them to prosecute their Studies.

The fourth is the *Bishoprick* of *Cujavia* and *Pomerania*. *Cujavia* is compos'd of the *Palatinate* of *Inowloz* and *Brestia*, in the Lower or Great Poland. The Bishop's Seat is at *Wladislaw*, a City on the *Vistula*, about Four Leagues above *Thorn*.

The Fifth is the *Bishoprick* of *Vina*, which is the Metropolis of the Duchy of *Lithuania*, situated on the River *Vilia*, which falls into the *Niemen* below



below *Kowno*; This City is Large and very Populous.

The *Sixth* is the *Bishoprick* of *Posnania*, which is a City of Lower *Poland*, in the *Palatinate* of the same Name, situated on the River *Varta*. There is an old Castle upon a Rising Ground, and the Cathedral Church is without the City, which is indifferently Large and Populous.

The *Seventh* is the *Bishoprick* of *Plocsko*, a small City in Lower *Poland*, situated on the *Vistula*, about Five Leagues above *Wladislaw*. The Bishops Seat is at *Pultausk* in *Massovia*, situated on the River *Narev*, which meets with the *Bug* about Two Leagues lower. The Bishop of *Plocsko* is Sovereign of the Territory of *Pultausk*, and there is no Appeal from his Sentence, not even to the King.

The *Eighth* is the *Bishoprick* of *Warmia*, in Royal *Prussia*. The Episcopal Seat is at *Frawenberg*, a small City near *Frischbaff*. The Bishop of *Warmia* is President of Royal *Prussia*, and all the Nobility of his Diocese depend upon him, and are exempted from all the Royal Jurisdictions.

The *Ninth* is the *Bishoprick* of *Luceoria*, or *Lucko*, which is the Capital City of *Volhinia*.

The *Tenth* is the *Bishoprick* of *Premisia*, which is a City of *Black Russia* upon the River *Sana*, about 6 Leagues above *Jeroslaw*, and 12 from *Leopold*, towards the West. There are two Bishops in this City, one a *Latin* Catholick, and the other a *Greek* Schismatick. One *Orichowski*, Canon of this Cathedral, was the first, who, at the beginning of the Reformation, Maintained, that 'twas lawful for Priests to Marry, and afterwards Married himself, Anno 1549. in the Reign of *Sigismund Augustus*.

The *Eleventh* is the *Bishoprick* of *Samogitia*. This Prelate has no particular Seat, except at *Midnich*, which is one of the Chief Burroughs of that Province.

The

The *Twelfth* is the *Bishoprick* of *Culm*, a City of Royal *Prussia*, scituated on the *Vistula*, about 6 Leagues above *Thorn*. This Prelate formerly preceded the Bishop of *Warmia*.

The *Thirteenth* is the *Bishoprick* of *Chelm* in *Black Russia*. There are Two Bishops in this City, one a *Latin* Catholick, and the other a *Greek* Schismatick. But the *Latin* Bishop remov'd his Seat to *Kranoskaw*, another City in the same *Palatinat*, Seated on a Great Lake, through which runs the River *Vieptz*, by reason of the frequent Irruptions of the *Tartars* and *Cossacks*, who have ruin'd the City of *Chelm*.

The *Fourteenth* is the *Bishoprick* of *Kiowia*, the Metropolis of *Volhinia*, and of all *Ukrania*. This City is the Seat of a *Greek* Schismatical *Archbishop*, who was formerly Primate of all the *Russians*. The Inhabitants of *Kiowia* are Schismaticks, and now Subject to the Great Duke of *Muscovy*.

The *Fifteenth* is the *Bishoprick* of *Caminiac*, which is the Capital City of Upper *Podolia*: 'Tis now in the hands of the Infidels.

The *Sixteenth* is the *Bishoprick* of *Smolensko*, which is scituated on the *Boristhenes*; the Metropolis of a *Dutchy*, and of a *Palatinate*, heretofore depending upon *Lithuania*, but now in possession of the *Muscovites*.

'Tis to be observ'd, that most of the Bishops have, in their Diocesses, a Suffragan, or Subordinate Bishop in *Partibus Infidelium*, because those who bear the Title imagine, that they were only made Bishops that they might have a Place in the *Senate*, and enjoy a sufficient R  venue to support that Dignity. They allow a small Pension to their Substitutes for the pains they take in giving Orders, and performing all other Episcopal Functions.

## CHAP. X.

*Of the Palatins, Castellans, and Officers of State who are Senators.*

THE First Secular Senatos are 36 in Number, viz. 32 *Palatins*, who are properly Governours of Provinces, 3 *Castellans*, and one *Starosta*.

The First of all the Secular Senators is the *Castellan* of *Cracow*, who was advanc'd to that Dignity by King *Boleslaus Crivoustus* about the year 1103. This Prince being provok'd by the Insolence of *Scarbimirus* *Palatin* of *Cracow*, who was perpetually endeavouring to stir up the People to Rebellion, expell'd him out of the *Senate*, and threw him into Prison, where he died; And that he might leave an Eternal Mark of his Resentment to Posterity, he made an Edict, or Constitution, by which it was Ordain'd, that for the future, the *Castellan* of *Cracow* should always precede the *Palatin*.

The Second and Third Places belong, by Turns, to the *Palatin* of *Cracow*, and *Pofnania*. The *Palatinat* of *Cracow* is in Upper *Poland*, and that of *Pofnania*, in the Lower, or Greater *Poland*. In this *Palatinate* there is a Town called *Srim*, scituated on the River *Varta*, about Four Leagues above *Pofnania*, near which there is a Mountain, where they dig up Pots, Pitchers, and other Earthen Vessels, all form'd by Nature, which are soft, and afterwards harden in the Air.

The Fourth is the *Palatin* of *Vilna* in *Litbuania*.

The Fifth the *Palatine* of *Pandomir*, a City of Upper *Poland*, scituated on the *Vistula*.

The Sixth, The *Castellan* of *Vilna*.

The

The Seventh, The *Palatin* of *Kalisch*, a City of Great *Poland*.

The Eighth, The *Palatin* of *Troki*, a City of *Lithuania*, scituated upon a Lake.

The Ninth, The *Palatin* of *Siradia*, a City of Lower *Poland*, scituated on the River *Varta*, about Six Leagues from *Kalisch*, and Eleven from *Lencicia*.

The Tenth, The *Castellan* of *Troki*.

The Eleventh, The *Palatin* of *Lencici*, a City of Lower *Poland*, scituated upon an Eminence, about Four Leagues Eastwards from the River *Varta*.

The Twelfth, The *Starosta* of *Samogitia*.

The Thirteenth, The *Palatin* of *Brest*, or *Bressici*, a City of *Lithuania*, the Metropolis of the Province of *Polesia*, scituated on the River *Bug*.

The Fourteenth, The *Palatin* of *Kiovia*, in Lower *Volhnia*; But this *Palatinat* is only Titular, because the *Muscovites* have kept the possession of the Town ever since the *Cossacks* put it into their hands.

The Fifteenth is the *Palatin* of *Inowloecz*, a City of Lower *Poland*, scituated on the River *Germ*, about Two Leagues below the Lake *Guplo*, and Five from the *Vistula*.

The Sixteenth, The *Palatin* of *Russia*, so called from the Name of the whole Province, though there are several *Palatinats* in it, and though he is only *Palatin* of *Leopold*.

The Seventeenth, The *Palatin* of Upper *Volhnia*, or of *Iuceoria*.

The Eighteenth, The *Palatin* of Upper *Podolia*, which was formerly a Province of *Foland*. There are many Wild Oxen and Asses in this Country. It extends from Upper *Volhnia* to the *Niester*, and from Lower *Podolia* to *Russia*. The Chief Cities of Upper *Podolia* are *Caminiec*, scituated on the River *Smotrzy*, and *Bar*, seated on the *Rom*, which empties

ties it self into the *Bug*, about Seven Leagues below *Braclaw*. But this *Palatinat* is at present a meer Titular Dignity, because the *Turks* have been Masters of it ever since the loss of *Caminiec*.

The Nineteenth. The *Palatine* of *Smolensko*. This *Palatinat* is also Titular, because the *Muscovites* have possessed it since the Year 1654.

The Twentieth. The *Palatin* of *Lublin*, a City in Upper *Poland*, seated on a Brook, which falls into the River *Vieprz*, about Two Leagues below the Town.

The 21th. The *Palatin* of *Losk*, a City of *Lithuania*, seated on the River *Dzwina*.

The 22th. The *Palatin* of *Belcz*, a City of Black *Russia*, about Three Leagues Eastward from the River *Bug*. In this *Palatinat* there is a Lake, which grows dry once every Three years, the Waters retiring with a great Noise into the Cavities of the neighbouring Hills; But they return some time after: and 'tis only during this Interval that they can take the Fish.

The 23th is the *Palatin* of *Nowogrodeck*, a City of *Lithuania*, about Three Leagues from the River *Niemen*.

The 24th is the *Palatin* of *Plocsko*, a City of Lower *Poland*, scituated on the *Vistula*, about Three Leagues from the Dutchy of *Massovia*.

The 25th. The *Palatin* of *Vitepsk*, a City in the Dutchy of *Lithuania*, scituated on the River *Dzwina*.

The 26th is the *Palatin* of *Massovia*, which is a Province of *Poland*, the Metropolis whereof is *Warsaw*, scituated on the *Vistula*.

The 27th is the *Palatin* of *Polaquia*, or of *Elisk*, a small City about Four Leagues from the River *Narew*. In this *Palatinat* is the Lake *Angustow*, which is Five Leagues long, and half a League broad.

The

The 28th is the *Palatin* of *Rawa*, a City in Lower Poland.

The 29th is the *Palatin* of *Brzesty*, a City in Lower Poland, about Four Leagues from *Plocsko*. In this *Palatinat* is the Lake *Gulplo*, which is very full of Fish, and is Four Leagues long, and one broad. This Lake is the Head of the River *Germ*, which runs to *Inowlocz*, and in the *Palatinat* of *Kalisch* changeth its Name to *Netec*, and afterwards empties it self into the River *Varta*.

The 30th is the *Palatin* of *Cbelm*, a City of Black Russia, about Seven Leagues from the River *Bug*, towards the East. In this *Palatinat* there is a Lake called *Biale*, which signifies White. Its Water is extremely black, and the Fish very good. 'Tis said, the Water of this Lake Polisheth every thing that is washed with it, during the Months of *April* and *May*.

The 31th is the *Palatin* of *Mseislaw*, a City in the Dutchy of *Lithuania*, scituated on the River *Sofz*, which empties its self into the *Borysthenes*, about Forty Leagues lower.

The 32th is the *Palatin* of *Marienbourg*, a City in Royal Prussia, scituated on one of the Arms of the *Vistula*, which falls into the *Frischaff*. This City was heretofore the Seat of the Great Master of the Knights of the *Teutonic Order*; and in the Church of the Castle are still to be seen a great many Forms or Seats which formerly belonged to those Religious Knights of *St. Mary*.

The 33th. The *Palatin* of *Braclaw*, a City in Lower *Podolia*, seated on the River *Bug*. This *Palatinat*, which contains all the Lower *Podolia*, is at present only Titular. There is a Lake in the Defarts, betwixt this Province and the *Borysthenes*, the Water of which Congeals to Salt by the heat of the Sun; so that it may be broken in pieces, and carried away in Carts like Ice: but it Melts immediately with Rain.

The

The 34th is the *Palatin of Pomerania*, whose *Palatinate* is in Royal *Prussia*.

The 35th is the *Palatin of Minsk*, a City in the Dutchy of *Lithuania*, seated on the River *Suiflocz*.

The 36th is the *Palatin of Czernichowia*, a City of *Lithuania*, situated on the River *Derna*: This *Palatinat*, which is also a Dutchy, is only a Titular Dignity.

Having thus given an Account of the 32 *Palatines*, 3 *Castellans*, and one *Starosta*, who are Senators, it may not improperly be observ'd, that, tho' the Quality of *Castellan* and *Starosta* is inferiour to that of a *Palatin*, there are Four of them who possess almost the First Ranks among the Lay-Senators. I have already intimated the Reason why the *Castellan* of *Cracow* is the First Temporal Senator: and as for the other Three, 'tis probable that this Precedency was granted them in Recompence of some Brave Actions which the *Castellans* of those Cities had perform'd.

The Office of a *Palatin* is to Lead the Troops of his *Palatinate* to the Army; to Preside in the Assemblies of the Nobility in his Province; to set a Price upon Merchandises and Commodities; to take care that the Weights and Measures be not altered, and to Judge and Defend the *Jews*. He hath a Vice-*Palatin* under him, who must take an Oath to him, and who ought to have an Estate in Land, which they call *Possessionatus*.

The *Castellans* are the next in Dignity to the *Palatines*, and there are two sorts of them in the Kingdom, who are usually distinguish'd by the Titles of Great *Castellans*, and Petty, or Sub-*Castellans*. The number of the former, both in the Kingdom and Dutchy amounts to 32, and that of the latter to 49. 'Twou'd be equally tedious and unprofitable to

to give a particular account of 'em all; and therefore I shall content my self with observing in the general, that they are all Senators, Lieutenants, or Deputies of the *Palatines* and Heads of the Nobility in their respective Jurisdictions.

In the next place I shall proceed to mention the Officers of State, who are Senatours; The *First* is the Great Marshal of the Kingdom; The *Second*, The Great Marshal of the Dutchy. The *Third*, The Chancellour of the Kingdom. The *Fourth*, The Chancellour of the Dutchy. The *Fifth*, The Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom. The *Sixth*, The Vice-Chancellor of the Dutchy. The *Seventh*, The Treasurer of the Kingdom. The *Eighth*, The Treasurer of the Dutchy. The *Ninth*, The Sub-Marshal, or Marshal of the Court of the Kingdom: And the *Tenth*, The Sub-Marshal, or Marshal of the Court of the Dutchy. These are all the Members of the *Polish SENATE*. I have in another place given a sufficient Account of the Privileges and Functions of the Officers mention'd here; and therefore I shall conclude this Chapter with observing, that besides the Four Senatours, who ought always to attend the King, and to assist him with their Counsel in all Deliberations and Judgments; all the other Senatours who are at Court have also the privilege to assist in such cases. And all those who are present in Council, and Consent to the Decree, or Sentence, are obliged to Sign it, not only in Criminal, but also in Civil Cases, that they may afterwards be accountable for their Proceedings to the Whole Body of the Republick.



## CHAP. XI.

*Of the Order of the Nobility or Gentry.*

THE Third Order of the Republic of *Polland* is that of the Nobility, who are only capable of possessing all the Offices and Lands both in the Dutchy and Kingdom. For all the Peasants are Slaves, and the Burghers of Towns and Cities are only lookt upon as Tradesmen, who can possess at most but some Houses in the Cities, and the Lands about a League round them. As for Strangers, how Noble soever they may be in their own Country, and whatever Services they have done in the Army, to the Republick, they can neither possess an Estate, nor rise to any higher Preferment than the Command of a Regiment of Foot, or at most, the Place of a Major-General, which is an Office not much different from that of a Brigadeer in *France*; for the *Polanders* will never suffer, that a Stranger, tho' never so expert in War, should have the general Command of their Army.

The Nobility, or Gentry, are the Guardians of the Laws and Liberties of the Republic, and the Electors of their Sovereign. They bestow the Crown and Scepter upon him, and furnish him with Ministers and Counsellors: They make their own Laws, and determine both their Duties and Privileges. They are oblig'd to defend the Rights of their Countrey against the Incroachments of any aspiring Prince, whose Ambition might carry his Designs beyond the limits prescrib'd to him by the Laws.

Since the number of the Gentry is so great, that they cannot all assist at the General Dyets, they chuse Deputies in the Petty Dyets, whom they send to the General Dyets, to preserve their Anci-

ent Privileges and Constitutions, and to contrive and Enact new Laws for their Security.

The *Polish* Gentry are generally perswaded, that 'tis their Interest to preserve an Uninterrupted Peace with their Neighbours, that they may be able to preserve all their Provinces: But 'tis plain from the Event, that they are extreamly mistaken in their Politics; for *Poland* lying open on all sides, and being surrounded by so many Enemies, we may easily suppose, that every one of them may find an opportunity to surprize some part of the Kingdom, before the People can put themselves in a posture of Defence. All that the King can do in such a juncture, is to summon the Nobility together, to oppose the Enemy, which is the same with the *Arriere Ban* in *France*; and is called the *Pospolite* in *Poland*. Upon such occasions 'tis to be observ'd, that the King must send His Circular Letters thrice into each *Palatinate* to Assemble them; That none are exempted from the Service but the Chancellour, and the *Starosta's* of Frontier Places; That the Nobility of *Poland* are not oblig'd to go above Three Leagues out of the Kingdom, That those of *Lithuania* and *Prussia* are not oblig'd to go out of the Kingdom at all; That the King cannot keep the Gentry in Arms above the space of Six weeks; and that all the Courts of Justice are shut up during the time that the *Arriere Ban* is Assembled.

It is so far from being the Interest of the Republick to maintain a constant Peace with their Neighbours, that 'twas this very Maxim which occasion'd the loss of the Third part of their Country. For in the Reign of *Uladislaus* the *IVth*, they built Fort *Kudack* on the *Boristhenes*, to hinder the *Cossacks* from Cruizing on the *Black Sea*, for fear of Irritating the *Turks*. But this False Step, in stead of securing the Quiet of the Kingdom, engag'd 'em  
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in a War with the *Cossacks* and *Tartars*, and even with the *Turks* themselves; and, at last, made them lose all *Ukrania*, and the Dutchies of *Smolensko* and *Siberia*. 'Twas their real Interest, not only to suffer the *Cossacks* to make perpetual Incursions upon the *Turks*, but even to assist them in their Expeditions: For, by this means, they might have kept the *Cossacks*, who had serv'd 'em so well in the War against *Osman*, in subjection to them; and consequently the *Polanders* might have been still Masters of so many Fine Provinces which they have lost.

When all the Nobility of *Poland* are Assembled together, they make a very Considerable Body, and not one of their Neighbours could resist them, if they knew their own strength, and could submit to Regular Discipline, and to the Command of a General. But besides, that it is the Interest of the King, never to Assemble so great and so formidable a Body: The *Polanders* have also this Privilege, that they cannot be kept together above Six Weeks. So that if during that time the King cannot bring them to a Battle with their Enemies, they may return home without asking his leave. And consequently, if their Enemies have never so little Experience in the Art of War, they may safely protract the time, or retire, till the Impetuous Torrent is over, and afterwards renew the Assault without fear, and with a certain prospect of Success.

That 'tis not the Interest of a King of *Poland*, to Assemble the *Polish* Nobility in one place, may be evidently demonstrated by the following Instance; When *Sigismond II.* Summon'd them to appear near *Leopold*, to oppose the *Moldavians*, they were just ready to Revolt against him; the Senators complaining, that their Privileges had been violated, and refusing to March against

the Enemy, till they were re-establish'd. This Example alone, which might be confirm'd by many others, is a convincing Proof, that the Convocation of all the Nobility is both a dangerous and ineffectual Remedy against the Distempers of the State.

The *Polish* Nobility have another Privilege, which appears unjust, or at least seems to encourage their Insolence; for a *Polish* Gentleman cannot be Arrested for any Crime whatsoever, unless he be first Convicted by Justice, *Nisi Jure Victus*. So that he must be first Cited to appear at the Tribunal, where he is to be Tryed; if he do not appear, he must be declar'd Contumacious; and if he appears, and is Convicted, he is Arrested and Imprison'd, in order to be afterwards Judged according to the Laws and the Heinousness of his Crime; so that it may be reasonably suppos'd, that he who knows himself Guilty, and fears to be Cast, will not run the hazard of being Convicted, but will rather choose to suffer himself to be Condemn'd for Contumacy, than to venture the losing of his Head.

Nevertheless, there are some Examples, which seem to contradict this Privilege, that a Gentleman cannot be Arrested *Nisi Jure Victus*, and I my self have seen an Instance of it in the Persons of those who Assassinated *Gonczenski*, the Petty General of the Army of *Lithuania*. The Criminals were, without any Formality, carry'd Prisoners to *Elbing*, and afterwards Condemn'd by the General Diet held at *Warsaw*, in the Year 1654, to be Beheaded in the Market-place. But it must be confess'd, that their Crime was so Enormous; that, in such a case, the Nobility could not, in Justice, refuse to wave their Privilege. For those Wretches took that Gentleman in the Night-time out of his Bed from his Wife, at *Pima*, and having put him in a Coach with

with a Confessor, whom they brought along with them, they carry'd him out of the City, and oblig'd him immediately to make his Confession, after which they Shot him dead.

The *Polish* Gentlemen have another Privilege, That no Soldier, or Officer of the Army can be Quarter'd upon them; and any Officer who should attempt to do it, would be Cited before the first General *Dyet*, where he would be Condemned to Death, or Mark'd with Infamy; that is, the Criminal wou'd be declared incapable of having a Vote, or of possessing any Office or Employment. An Example of which I shall relate, which happen'd at *Warsaw*, May 17. 1674, in the *Dyet* of the Election of *John the III<sup>d</sup>*, and which contributed not a little to his Election. The Son of the *Palatin* of *Smolensko* went to Lodge in the House of *Vicznowieski*, by the Order, as 'twas given out, of the Great General *Patz*, *Palatin* of *Vilna*. The *Marshals*, who are Judges of those Enormities, Condemned that *Palatin* to the Punishment prescrib'd by the Laws, Two days before the Conclusion of the *Dyet*: Thus he was deprived of a Right to Vote, which was a very considerable Mortification to Chancellour *Patz* his Cousin, who plac'd a great deal of Confidence in him, as a declar'd Enemy to the Marshal *Sobieski*; and all the *French* Party, and consequently a zealous Promoter of the Faction of *Lorrain* and *Austria*.

The Constitution that secures the *Polish* Gentry from being Arrested till they be Legally Convicted, is certainly a Grievance to the Nation, and seems to subvert the Common Maxims of Justice: but they have another Privilege that is equally destructive of Civil Society, and inconsistent with the Principles of the *Christian Religion*. For every Gentleman in *Poland*, is by Law, the Absolute and Despotic Master of the Peasants that live in his

Territories, and may put 'em to Death when he pleases. When a Stranger is surpriz'd at such a Heathenish Custom, and takes the Liberty to Ask 'em, How *Christians* can assume a Privilege so contrary to the Spirit of their Religion? And how the Law, which is a Gift of God, can establish a Custom so opposite to the Laws of God himself? They usually Reply, 'That tho' they have such a Power, they never make use of it, no more than we and other *Christians* use the power we have to kill our Horses: Adding, That the Peasants serve 'em in stead of Beasts. But besides that the Comparison is not very Human, and much less Christian; it happens sometimes that the Gentlemen kill their Peasants, either when they are Drunk, or Irritated by some Brutal Passion, to which young Men are oftentimes subject. For the Wives and Daughters of these miserable Wretches are Forc'd, and Carry'd away, without daring to resist their Insolent Ravishers; and this is so common among the Peasants, that few of 'em scruple to chuse a Bride that has lost her Virginity.

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## CHAP. XII.

### *Of the Officers who are not Senators.*

I Must, in the next place, give an Account of those Officers, who have not a place in the *Senat*. Of these there are Three sorts, *viz.* Some are Officers of the whole Kingdom, and of the whole Dutchy; some of the Court; and others of *Palatinats* and *Starosties*. There is a Great Secretary of the Kingdom, and another of the Dutchy; who both have a Privilege to enter into the Privy-Councils, and to know all that the Chancellours and Vice-Chancellours do in the Chancery. So  
that

that the Office of Great Secretary, is, as it were, a step, by which they may rise to that of Chancellor; and both those Officers must be Ecclesiasticks.

Next to the Great Secretaries are the Referendaries of the Crown and Dutchy; there are Two of them in each State, one a Lay-man, and the other an *Ecclesiastick*. They present Petitions to the King, and return His Majesty's Answer: And tho' they are not Members of the *Senate*, they have a Privilege to sit by the *Senators* in Judgements of Processes upon Information, to give their Advice, and afterwards to Pronounce the Sentence that is given. 'Tis to be observ'd, that all the Judges, and Officers of Justice, all the Advocates, Proctors, Registers and Notaries, wear a *Sabre*, or *Scimitar* by their side, and do not lay it aside, either when they Judge, or Plead a Cause, and that they have no other Garb than what they usually wear.

There are Four General Officers of the Army in *Poland*, 2 for the Crown, and 2 for *Lithuania*, viz. A Great General, and a Petty, or Lieutenant-General. Those Generals of the Army have no Place in the *Senate*, unless they be *Palatines*, or *Castellans*; or be possess'd of some of those Offices which Entitle 'em to a Place in the *Senate*. The Great General Commands the Whole Army, and has Power to Quarter the Troops where he pleases, the King himself not being able to hinder him: And this Power is so considerable, that it makes a Great General formidable to all the Nobility.

His Office is to take care that the Soldiers which are Levy'd for the Service of the Republick, commit no Disorders; that the Members of the *Diets* may not be over-aw'd by the Army. He Pays the Army, Orders its Encampments, puts it in Battalia, and gives the Signal of Battel, and of Retreat; he takes care of the Convoys and Am-  
munitions,

munitions, sets a Price on every thing that is Sold in the Army, Regulates the Weights and Measures, and Punishes Offenders. The Office of the Petty General is to take Care of those who are appointed for Guards, and of the Parties that are sent out to discover the Enemy. He Commands the Foreign Troops, and even the Whole Army in the absence of the General, and succeeds him in course upon the occasion of a Vacancy.

There are many other Offices in the Army, the most considerable of which, is that of the Great Standard-bearer; and the next, that of Great Master of the Artillery. As for the Offices of the Court, the most Considerable are those of the Great Chamberlain, Great Master of the Horse, and the Steward, or Master of the Household. Besides all those Offices, there are others in the *Palatinats*, as Chamberlains, Masters of the Household, and many others: for the Provinces of *Poland* were formerly divided among several Princes, each of whom had their particular Officers; and tho' those Provinces have been long since Re-united to the Crown, yet the Officers still continue, and enjoy certain Honorary Privileges, the chief of which is, that they serve the King in their *Palatinates* when the Officers of the Court are absent.

## CHAP. XIII.

### *Of the Interregnum.*

**A**N *Interregnum* may happen Four several ways; by the Death of the Prince, by His Voluntary and Public Abdication, by His Forc'd and Involuntary Deposition, or by His Flight or Going out of the Kingdom; but the most usual



is, by the Death of the King; whose Body is immediately laid upon a Bed of State, and some Senators, both *Ecclesiastick* and *Secular*, are chosen to attend him. In the mean time the Republick Orders all the Necessary Expences for the Ceremony to be taken out of the Treasures left by the Deceased King.

The same Honours are also given to the Queens after their Decease, as I had occasion to observe at the Death of Queen *Mary Louise*, who dy'd at *Warsaw*, May 10. 1667. in the Palace which King *John Casimir*, her Husband, had in the Suburbs. The next day She was carry'd to the Castle, where She was expos'd on a Bed of State, till She was remov'd to *Cracow* to be Interr'd. She Dy'd about the end of a *Diet*, and almost suddenly, of a *De-fluxion* upon Her Lungs, occasion'd by a too long, and earnest Dispute with General *Patz*, about an Affair She had propos'd to him, which he would not consent to. For that Princess was so fond of Intriguing, and so desirous to Govern the State alone, that She was, in a manner, Jealous of the King her Husband, who durst not speak to any Woman in private, least she shou'd imagine that he was Govern'd by another. This troublesome Constraint made him so uneasie, that he was not much afflicted at Her Death; for, the same Night he return'd from the *Diet* to the Palace, to see a Person whom He had Lov'd before, but durst never entertain during the Queens Life.

The *Interregnum* may also happen by a Voluntary Abdication, when a King freely Relinquishes the Crown into the Hands of the Republick: But, 'tis very rare to see a King Descend Voluntarily from the Throne, and few will imitate the Example of King *John Casimir*, who, after he had Reign'd Twenty years, with the Love of all the Nobility, made a Publick Resignation in St. *John's* Church  
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at *Warsaw*, Septemb. 16. 1668. Notwithstanding the Earnest Solicitations of the Whole *Senate*, and of all the Nobility to make Him alter His Resolution, and the Tears that were shed by all the People, at the Sight of so Dismal a Revolution. For he was so Universally Belov'd by the Nobility and *Senate*, that they voluntarily Assign'd Him a Yearly Pension of 50000 Crowns, as a Testimony of their Acknowledgment towards a Prince who had Govern'd them so well. Nevertheless that Pension was never Paid, tho it was afterwards Inserted in the *Pacta Conventa*, which King *Michael* Swore to observe after His Election. The Abdicated King went to *France*, where he dyed at *Nevers*, December 16. 1672. I cannot, on this occasion, forbear taking notice of an odd Circumstance in the Fate of that Prince and His Queen: for the latter quitted *France* and went to *Poland*, where She dy'd in Her Husband's City: and the former left *Poland*, and went to *France*, where he dy'd in His Wife's City.

Innovation are always dangerous to a State, and threaten it with some Fatal Revolution; which the *Polanders* considering, endeavour'd to prevent the consequences of so unusual an Action, causing an Article to be Inserted into the *Pacta Conventa*, which they made King *Michael* Swear to observe, That never any King should be suffered to Abdicate for the future; but that Article was left out in the *Pacta* which King *John* the III<sup>d</sup> Swore after his Election, in the Church of St. *John* at *Warsaw*, June 5. 1674.

An *Interregnum* may be also occasion'd, by the Deposing of a Prince, either for *Heresie*, or some other Notorious Crime, as in the Case of *Lothicus*, who was Depos'd for his excessive Debauchery, and Succeeded by *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, was chosen King of *Poland* in the Year 1300. But those  
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Instances are very rare, as well as the Examples of a Prince's Flying from His Kingdom, like *Henry II. King of Poland*, and *III. of France*; who, having receiv'd Advice of the Death of *Charles the IXth* His Brother, by a Courier that was dispatch'd to Him by the Queen His Mother, seeretly departed from *Cracow*, after he had enjoy'd the Crown of *Poland* Five Months, with the Love of all the Nobility; who were so troubl'd at His Flight, and the loss of so good a Prince, that they Wrote on the 12th of *May*, 1574. a very Pressing and Respectful Letter to perswade Him to Return.

The *Polanders* look upon the *Interregnums* as the most Favourable Occasions to consider of the Surest and Most Effectual Ways to Preserve their Liberties: and though the Royal Authority is then properly Lodg'd in the *Senate*, 'tis in some measure Represented by the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, as Primate of the Kingdom, and the First of all the *Senators*, as I intimated before.

During the *Interregnum*, some of the Senators and Noblemen are sent to the Generals of the Army, to stay with them, and to assist them with their Advice in Matters relating to the War. Some Senatours are also Deputed to the Castle of *Cracow*, to Visit the Treasury of the Crown; and to make an Inventory of it with those that have the Keys, which they present at the next Coronation. Commissioners are also appointed to enquire into the State of the Revenue that is set apart for the King's Table, and, to give an Account of it to the Republick.

During the *Interregnum*, and till the New King be Proclaim'd, the Republick pretends that all Sovereign Princes, and even Crown'd Heads themselves, are obliged to give them the Title of *Most Serene*. But when the King of *France* Writes to the

the Republick Assembl'd in a *Diet* of Election, he makes no mention of *Serenity*, and only Writes in these Terms. *To our most Dear and Great Friends, Allies and Confederates, the States of the Kingdom of Poland, and Great Dutchy of Lithuania.* Nor is it reasonable that a King of *France* should give the Republick of *Poland* the Title of *Most Serene*, since they do not give their own King, either the Title of *Most Serene*, or of *Majesty*.

I shall only observe further on this Subject, that as soon as the Archbishop of *Gnesna* has Notify'd, by his Circular Letters, that the King is Dead, all the Courts of Justice are shut up, and are not open'd again till after the Coronation of the New Elected King, except the Marshal's Court, which continues open; and another, which is establish'd for deciding Controversies that may happen during the *Diet* of the Election. But as for all other Causes, and private Law-Suits, they are not Try'd till after the King's Coronation.

## CHAP. XIV.

### *Of the Election of a King.*

SINCE the Kingdom of *Poland* is Elective, all Christian Princes may Pretend to the Succession, and send Ambassadors thither, whether they be Catholics or not. But those who Aspire to that Crown, must either profess the *Roman Catholick* Faith, or resolve to Embrace it after their Election, for otherwise he cannot be Chosen: and 'tis only for this Reason that the Pope sends a *Nuncio* to the *Diet* of Election, that he may represent to the Republick, that 'tis the Interest of the Whole Church, that they should Chuse a Catholick Prince who

who is a zealous Assertor of the True Faith of *Christ*.

The *Polanders* usually Chuse a Foreign Prince for their King, because they cannot, without Reluctancy, submit to those who were formerly their Equals. They esteem it their happiness that they have the Liberty to Chuse such a Prince as they please; But 'tis certain, that their Liberty is frequently the Cause of Fatal Divisions. They will not Choose a Prince who is King of another Realm, least after his Election, and after he has remain'd for some time among 'em, he should leave them to Return to his own Country. 'Twas for this Reason, that after the Death of *Casimir* III, they would not Chuse *Vladislaus* his Son, because he was King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; and this was also one of the Reasons, which, in a *Diet* held at *Radom*, in the Year 1382, made the Republick Exclude *Sigismund* of *Luxemburg*, Marquess of *Brandenburg*, who pretended to the Crowns of *Poland* and *Hungary*, as having Marry'd the Eldest Daughter of *Lewis* King of those Two Kingdoms.

Before the Ambassadors come to *Warsaw*, they are to Notifie their Arrival to the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, who appoints Lodgings for 'em at some distance from the City, and sends a *Polish* Gentleman to each of 'em, to observe their Actions, and to hinder them from making Parties: But those Rules are seldom put in Execution; for the Ambassadors of Princes live openly at *Warsaw*; 'tis true, there is a *Polish* Gentleman appointed to attend every one of 'em during the *Diet*, that the Republick may be inform'd of their Proceedings, and that they may not have an opportunity to Bribe, or Corrupt the Deputies. But this is an Inconveniency that cannot be avoided by all these Precations; for the desire

fire of Money is so reigning a Vice in *Poland*, and attended with so little Scandal and Infamy, that the Fidelity which a *Polish* Gentleman owes to his Country, would not be Proof against 1000 Crowns.

'Tis the Interest of the Ambassadors to Manage all the Senators, and the whole Order of the Nobility, since the disobliging of one of them may render 'em incapable of Compassing their Designs. Thus the Quarrelling with Chancellour *Patz* in the *Diet* of the Election, *Anno* 1668. was the true reason why the Duke of *Newburg* was Excluded, and *Michael Vicznowieski* was Elected King. In the mean time it must be acknowledg'd, that the Election was Tumultuary; that the Nobility had not a Free Vote; and that they were in a manner hurry'd away by the Violence of the Multitude, which was so great, that *Prasimowski* Archbishop of *Gnesna*, was forc'd to Proclaim Him, which he was unwilling to do, because he was sensible of the Dangers that threatn'd the Republick in that Juncture, and of the great need they had of a Rich and Valiant Prince. At the same time he knew, that King *Michael* wanted both those Qualities; For he was so poor, that during the Life of Queen *Mary Louise*, he had nothing to subsist upon, as I intimated before, but a Pension which She allow'd him of 6000 Livres a Year. And as for his Courage, it may be guess'd at by what happen'd immediately after his Election, when he durst not resent the Affront he receiv'd from the Marquiss of *Brandenburg*; who, without asking his Permission, caus'd a *Prussian* Gentleman, who had fled to *Poland* for Protection, to be seiz'd and carry'd away before the King's eyes, and almost under the Windows of His Palace.

'Tis plain then, that the *Polanders* ought to have Chosen a Prince that was equally Brave and Rich,  
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and able to Support their Tottering State. For if they had consider'd their true Interest, in the choice of a Sovereign, the *Turks* wou'd never have had the boldness to Attack *Poland*, as they did in the Reign of King *Michael*, where they enter'd *Ukrania* with a Powerful Army, and easily made themselves Masters of *Caminiack*, which the *Polanders* could never retake since.

But as *Poland* could not choose a poorer, so they could not have Chosen a more liberal Prince than King *Michael*. And as he was wholly destitute of the means to display that Noble and Princely Quality, so Providence order'd, that as soon as he was Proclaim'd King, he found himself Master of richer Furniture, and a greater quantity of Plate than any of the Kings His Predecessours had ever enjoy'd. For all the Senatours and Gentlemen, who were able to make any considerable Presents, strove, with a kind of Emulation, to express their Affection to their New Sovereign; so that on the Day of his Election, he was so amaz'd at such a sudden and unexpected Alteration, that he cou'd hardly forbear looking upon it as a Golden Dream.

He was no sooner Proclaim'd, but the Chancellor began to Insinuate, that He ow'd his Crown to him; nor was it a difficult task to Impose upon a Prince, who was easily Govern'd, and had more good Nature than Judgment.

Thus the Chancellor had the pleasure to see that his Power was as great as his Ambition, but that satisfaction was sufficiently moderated by the Troubles and Divisions that happen'd under his Ministry; for having perswaded the King, without the consent of the Republick, to Marry the Emperor's Sister, by whom he had no Children. There was such a considerable Party form'd against that Prince, that he was in perpetual danger of being Dethron'd, and reduc'd in a Cloister, to greater Misery,

Miseries, than that which he suffer'd before his Election. And, to heighten His Afflictions, he perceiv'd that Queen *Eleanor* his Wife was engag'd in the Party that wou'd have oblig'd him to Resign His Crown, that she might Marry a handsom and brave Prince, whose Picture she had seen, and who, without doubt, had been King of *Poland*, if Death, jealous of the happiness of that Country, had not snatch'd him away in the flower of his Age, to the regret of all the World, and particularly of *Q. Eleanor*, who cou'd not forbear expressing her sorrow by her Tears when she heard the News of his death.

Among the several Princes who pretended to dispossess King *Michael*, Duke *Augustus*, *Ernest* of *Brunswick*, Bishop of *Osnabrug*, who would have willingly exchang'd both his Bishoprick and Religion, for the Crown of *Poland*, was one: But he was Marry'd, he would have met with greater obstacles than the Prince I just nown mention'd.

## CHAP. XV.

### *Of the Diets in general.*

**T**Ho' as a mark of the Obedience and Respect, which Christians are oblig'd to pay to the Clergy, the *Polanders* have thought fit to give the Bishops the Precedency in their *Diets*, as being the Ministers and Dispensers of Holy Things; it hath been sometimes observ'd, that the Laity have taken the liberty to dispute that Honour with them. Thus at the *Diet* held at *Lublin*, 1501. under the Reign of *Alexander* the II. there happen'd a great contest betwixt the Bishops and the Temporal Senators; for tho' the latter were willing that the Bishops should be Seated all in a Row on the King's Right hand, they desir'd  
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that they might also sit in a Row on his Left hand, that so they might not be altogether beneath them. This Controversy was long and hotly agitated; but, at last, the King decided it in favour of the Bishops, declaring, That they should still enjoy their Ancient Privilege, to sit next the King, both on His Right and Left hand.

A General *Diet* in *Poland*, is a Meeting of the Nobility in one place, to Consult about the Affairs of the Republick. The King may appoint the Meeting where he thinks fit, except the *Diet* of the Coronation, which can only be held at *Cracow*; but, as for the rest, it has been always in the King's Power to appoint the place of their Meeting. 'Tis true, that, for some time, they have been always held at *Warsaw*; But, the *Lithuanians* having made a Complaint some years ago, that they were expos'd to all the Inconveniencies of a long and tedious Journey; it was agreed, that one of Three *Diets* should, for the Conveniency of the *Lithuanians*, be held at *Grodno*, a City of *Lithuania* in the *Palatnat* of *Troki*, on the River *Niemen*, about Twenty Leagues from *Vilna*; 'Tis seated partly upon a Plain, and partly upon an Eminence, and is Defended by a Castle, which was taken and Sack'd by the *Muscovites* in the Year 1655, when the Whole Kingdom was harrafs'd by the *Swedes*.

The other Two *Diets* are to be held at *Warsaw*, which, from the Election of *Sigismund* III. to that of *John* III. was always the Residence of the Kings of *Poland*: It is Scituated on the *Vistula*, in the Province of *Massovia*, and the Diocess of *Poznania*. There is a fine Palace in this City, which *Sigismund* built after his Election; but there are no Avenues to it, and the place where it is Scituated is so straightn'd, that one must, in a manner, Divine, how to go into it. It has a very fine Prospect, but is wholly destitute of Water, Gardens, or Trees.

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Nor can those Defects be supply'd, because on the one side it is bounded by the Houses of the City, and, on the other by the *Vistula*.

*Warsaw* is compos'd of Two Cities joyn'd together: The Old Town, which is Wall'd with Brick, is small, and ill Paved, as are all the Cities of *Poland*; but, to make amends 'tis Populous, and enjoys a good Trade. The New Town which is joyn'd to it, is not considerable. Besides those Two Cities, there is also the great Suburb of *Cracow*, the Houses of which are, for the most part, built and cover'd with Wood, except some Pallaces which certain Persons of Quality had begun to Build before the *Swedish* Invasion; both because the Kings, *Vladislaus* and *Casimir*, had a Palace there, where they usually Resided; and because those Princes design'd to enclose that Suburb, and the Two Cities with 16 Bastions, which they had already Mark'd out, and whereof some footsteps are yet to be seen. The above-mention'd Palace, where the Kings, *Vladislaus* and *Casimir* Resided, has a Garden, but is destitute both of Water, and Trees.

There is still a Chapel in that Suburb, called the *Muscovites* Chapel, which *Sigismond III.* built for the Burying place of a Duke of *Muscovie* and his Brother, who died in Prison at *Gostynin*, in the *Palatinat* of *Rava*, about Three Leagues from the City of *Plocsko* upon the *Vistula*, to leave to Posterity a Monument of his Victories over the *Muscovites*. It was some time ago given to the *Dominican Fryars*, who have settl'd a Convent in it.

'Tis the Custom in *Poland* to hold Petty *Diets* in all the *Palatinats*, before they hold a great or General Diet. These Petty *Diets* must be summon'd Three weeks before they can be held, and held Six weeks before the General *Diets*. In order to their Meeting, the King sends Circular Let-

ters to Summon the Nobility, and to notify the Day of the General *Diet*; And in those Circular Letters he mentions every thing that is to be Treated of in the General *Diet*: All the Gentlemen in *Poland* have the Privilege to assist at the Petty *Diets*, where they Chuse their Nuncio's or Deputies, to whom they give Instructions, Containing all they ought to grant, or refuse in the General *Diet*. Those Nuncio's were first establish'd in the Reign of *Casimir* III. who, to raise Money for the Payment of his Army, order'd all the *Palatinats* to send their Deputies to the General *Diet*, to find out the most proper Means to supply his Necessities; and, since that time, no General *Diet* can be held without Deputies from all the *Palatinats*.

The General *Diets* are wont to depute 16 Senators, who are Chosen among the *Bishops*, *Palatins*, and *Castellans*; 4 of whom are to be always with the King, to take care that nothing be done contrary to the Laws: and since the Year 1649, they have joyned to them a Deputy of the Nobility, who is chosen by all the *Palatinats*. Every thing that is concluded and ordain'd by those Deputies, with the King's Approbation, has the force of a Law; and if they neglect to reside at Court, or to perform their Duty, they are Fin'd; a Lay-man in 2000 *Livres*, and an Ecclesiastick in 6000.

All the General *Diets* are begun by the Election of a Speaker, or Marshal of the Deputies, who must be Chosen out of one of the three Nations; *First*, Among the Deputies of Upper *Poland*. *Secondly*, Among those of Lower *Poland*: And, in the *Third* and last place, among those of *Lithuania*, which frequently occasions Debates that lasts for several days. The Marshal of the Deputies being Chosen, the King gives him his hand to kiss, and afterwards makes the same Compliment to all the

Deputies : After which, the Chancellor Proposes the Points that are to be consider'd of in the *Diet*, which are always different, according to the various occasions of the Republick : In the mean time I cannot forbear observing, that the *Polanders* spend more time in Drinking than in Deliberating concerning their Affairs ; for they never enter upon Business till they begin to want Money to buy *Hungary* Wine.

After the Chancellor has, in the King's Name, propos'd to the *Diets* all the Articles they are to Deliberate upon, the Speaker or Marshal of the Deputies acquaints the King, in the Name of the Nobility, with what they desire of him ; which is to Redress the Grievances, and Regulate the Abuses committed either against the State, or Particular Persons ; to dispose of the Royal Gifts, the Benefices and Offices that are vacant, and to distribute them according to the Laws which forbid the bestowing of Two of them that are Inconsistent to one Person. After which, the Chancellor makes Answer for the King, That His Majesty will satisfy 'em, after he has taken the Advice of the Senators.

The Marshal of the Deputies has a great Authority over them in the *Diet* ; For 'tis he who Imposes Silence, and Speaks to the King and Senate. And consequently, since his Authority enables him either to Animate or Moderate their Heats, he is always extremely respected, and the Court is particularly kind to him. 'Tis no wonder then that there is so much Intriguing at his Election, and that the Contest is usually so hot. For 'tis the business of the Court to procure a Marshal that will promote their Designs in the *Diet* ; and, on the other hand, the Deputies who chose him, have a different Interest from that of the Court, and are always afraid of losing their Liberties, or of seeing their Privileges

Privileges abridg'd by some New Laws. Those different Interests are frequently the reason that there are some Deputies, who, regarding only their private advantage, oppose the Election of him whom the Court would have Chosen, that the King may Bribe them with some Benefice, Employment, or Royal Gift; and there are not only Deputies who make a Noise at the Election of the Marshal, but, during the whole Progress of the *Diet*; that they may extort Favours from the Court; Nay, there are some, who force the King to comply with 'em, by threatening to break up the *Diet*, if he does not answer their Expectations: For there are so few of 'em, that have a sincere regard to the true Interest of the Republick, that there is scarce one to be found among 'em, that is capable of resisting the Temptation of 2000 Crowns. Thus the Court may purchase the Votes of the Members, or dissolve an over-bold and obstinate *Diet*, by scattering sufficient Sums among the Mercenary Deputies: And even not only the Neighbours, but the Enemies of the Kingdom may, by the same means, procure a Rupture in the *Diet*, when they find the honest Party resolv'd to take effectual Measures for the security of the Republick.

Before any thing can be resolv'd in the *Diet*, it must be propos'd by the Deputies, and approv'd by the King and Senate: And before it can pass into a Law, it must be revis'd by the Marshal of the Deputies, and two of the Deputies besides; or else by three Senators and six Deputies: After which it must be read in the Senate in the King's Presence, and the Chancellors must ask with a loud Voice, Whether the King, Senators and Deputies, will have the Seal put to it. Then 'tis seal'd and insertel in the Registers of *Warsaw*, or in those of the Chancery of the Kingdom; and one of the King's Secretary's takes care to get it Printed at the Charge of the

Publick Treasury, that it may be sent to the Petty *Diets*, and to the Courts of all the *Palatinats*.

They Treat in all *Diets*, not only of the Affairs of the Republick, but also of particular Persons. Thus, in one of the *Diets*, they took cognizance of the difference betwixt the Order of *Maltha*, and Prince *Demetrius Vicznovieski*, who took possession of an Estate which the Duke *Ostrog* his Brother-in-Law had given to that Order. And, in another *Diet*, those who Murder'd *Gonczeski*, Petty General of *Lithuania*, were Prosecuted and Condemn'd to be Beheaded. But in cases of Treason against the King, the *Polanders* pretend, that neither His Majesty, nor the Order of the Nobility ought to be present at the Judging and Determining of the Cause; and 'twas on this score, that the Marshal *Lubomiski* complain'd against K. *John Casimir*, who caus'd him to be Condemn'd for Contumacy, in the *Diet* held at *Warsaw*, Anno 1664. Nevertheless, in a *Diet* held in the same City, 1582. King *Steven Battered* brought several Deputies into the *Senate*, to be present at the Tryal and Judgment of *Sboromski*, who was accus'd of Treason against the King. Which that Great Prince did, that all the Nobility might be Witnesses of the Justice of his proceedings.

'Tis in a General *Diet* that they give the *Indigenat*, that is, the Right of Nobility to Strangers, which renders 'em capable of Possessing some small Pensions or Gifts of the Republick. That right is now given to those who are in Favour at Court, or Protected by some Great Lord; whereas formerly it was granted only to Officers, as a Recompence for their Services done to the State. Those who are not Officers, and yet pretend to the *Indigenat*, by the favour of the King, or of the Marshal of the Deputies, procuring their Names to be inserted in the Instructions of the Army, that is, among  
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the Names of the Officers who demand to be made Gentlemen of *Poland*; and every one of the Pretenders gives in an account of his Genealogy, Name, Sirname, Family and Services, and puts his Coat of Armes in the middle: And after they have been receiv'd by the *Diet*, and their Pattents Seal'd, they take an Oath of Fidelity before the Marshal of the Deputies, by which they Swear to be faithful to their Country, and to the King: and the Marshal gives 'em a Certificate, declaring, that the *Diet* has receiv'd such a one for its Natural Son, and that he has taken the Oath of Fidelity before him. Yet, tho' a stranger be made a Gentleman of *Poland*, the King cannot bestow any considerable Employment, or Consistorial Benefices on him, or his Children, to the third Generation. For the Republick has made this Provision, that they may be the better assured of the Fidelity of those who are entrusted with any Office, or enjoy any Benefices.

According to the Constitutions and Laws of *Poland*, a *Diet* must not sit above Six Weeks, and the Nobility are so fond and jealous of their Privileges, that when the King endeavours to prolong the Session of a *Diet*, and even when the Interest of the State requires the Sitting of that Assembly, the Deputies are always ready to oppose such an Innovation, and Charge their Marshal to Acquaint the King, that they will immediately leave the *Diet*, as soon as they perceive that he intends to keep them longer than usually: I shall only mention one Instance of this Unaccountable Obstinacy, which happen'd in the *Diet* Assembled at the Coronation of King *John Casimir*, in the Year 1649.

The Defeat of the *Polish* Army at *Pilzweze*, and afterwards the Dreadful Irruption of the *Cossacks* and *Tartars* into the very heart of the Kingdom, had reduc'd the Republick almost to the last extremity:

and since the *Diet* had been so busy'd in determining particular affairs, that they had not time to consider of the Means to raise a sufficient Army to oppose the progress of so Barbarous and formidable an Enemy, till the very day before the breaking up of the *Diet*, the King and the Senators endeavour'd to find out a way to avoid the terrible danger that threatn'd 'em, and for that end resolv'd to Prolong the *Diet*; But as soon as the Deputies were inform'd of this Resolution, they sent their Marshal to the Senators, to put 'em in mind of the Law which forbids the prolonging of *Diets*, and afterward to take leave of the King. The Marshal, to execute his Commission, went to the Senate, and began to thank the King, and to take leave of Him in the Name of all the Nobility; whereupon the Senators rising up, desir'd that they wou'd condescend to sit only one day longer, representing the Pressing Exigencies of the present Juncture. The Chancellor seconded these Intreaties with a very Moving and Pathetick Harangue. After which the Marshal having resum'd his Character, which he had already laid down, went back to the Deputies, and pray'd them to give their Opinion concerning the Prolongation which the King and Senate desir'd. The Deputies met again at the return of their Marshal, and were, at last, prevail'd with, tho' not without a great deal of difficulty, to consent that the *Diet* should be prolong'd, but, upon this condition, that every one of them should obtain whatever his *Palatinat* had charg'd him to ask.



## HHAP. XVI.

*Of the Diet of the Election.*

THE General Diet for the Election of a King is always held in the open Field, about half a League from *Warsaw*, near the Village of *Vola*, where they erect a sort of Booth cover'd with Boards, at the Publick Charge, which, in the *Polish* Language, is called *Szopa*, or a Shelter from bad Weather. This place is built and prepar'd by the Treasurer of the Crown: 'tis surrounded with a Ditch, and has Three Doors. The Day appointed for the Diet being come, the Senate and the Nobility go to St. *John's* Church at *Warsaw*, to hear the Mass of the *Holy Ghost*, and to beg the Grace of God in order to the Electing of a New King, who may have all the Qualitys necessary to defend the Interests of the Church and of the Republick. After which they go to the *Szopa*, where the Order of the Nobility elects the Marshal of the Deputies that were sent by the Petty Diets, who, being Chosen by Plurality of Voices, and having taken the Oath, goes to Salute the Senators, and to be confirm'd by their Approbation.

After these Preliminaries, the Orders of the Senate and Nobility enter into an Union, or Association, which they Ratifie and Confirm with an Oath, Not to separate from one another; not to Name any person for King; Nor acknowledge him as such till he be Elect'd by the unanimous consent of 'em all. They swear also to preserve all the Rights, Privileges and Immunities of the Republick; and that he who shall do otherwise, shall be declar'd an enemy to his Country. They Promise reciprocally, neither to give their  
Voices

Voices for an Election, nor to enter into any Agreement with the Candidates, or their Ambassadors, till all the Irregularities and Disorders that have been committed either in the Kingdom or Dutchy be consider'd and redress'd. They annul and make void all the Decrees of the Tribunals, and even the Statutes of the Kings that are found to be contrary to their Liberties, and Promise to make a Law to that Purpose. They declare, That all the Judgements given before the Publication of the *Interregnum* shall be valid; and that they will approve of all that shall be done by the Court of Justice, establish'd during the *Interregnum*, which is called *Kaptur*, and is design'd for the defence of the Country, for Coyning of Money, for raising of Soldiers, and for maintaining the Laws. They forbid any person to come to the *Diet* with Strangers, or with Fire-Arms: They ordain, that the Generals of the Army shall take an Oath before Commissioners, to discharge the Trust that is repos'd in 'em, with all possible fidelity, to make no other use of their Troops than to oppose the Enemies of the Nation; To defend the Frontiers of the Kingdom, and to secure the Honour and Liberties of the Republick. They oblige 'em also to Swear, to Assert the Publick Interest, in case of a Sedition, or Revolt; To restrain the Souldiers from injuring any person; To receive no Money either from the Clergy or Laity, and to hinder the Soldiers from receiving any. After which, they forbid the Officers of the Army to March with their Forces into the Heart of the Kingdom, and much less near the *Diet*, upon pain of being declared Enemies of the State: And if the Republick should be Attack'd by such Potent Enemies, that the Army should not be strong enough to oppose them, they declare, That from that Minute they Summon all the Nobility to Meet together without delay at the place

place and time which the Archbishop of *Gnesna* and his Council shall appoint ; That the Review of the Soldiers rais'd in General by the Republick, or in Particular by the *Palatinats*, shall be made in the Camp ; That each *Palatinat* shall take care to pay it's own Troops, and not to Disband any but such as the General Diet shall think fit to dismiss ; That the Army shall not offer any violence to the Persons or Estates of the *Polish* Gentlemen or Clergy ; and much less to the Royal Demesnes ; And that the Officers shall be accountable for the Injuries done by their Troops. They forbid the Treasurers of the Crown, and of the Dutchy to give out any Mony, without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Arch-bishop and his Council, but only for the Payment of the Troops of the Republick ; They ordain, that skilful and honest persons shall be sent to visit the Salt-works, and to regulate the Reparations that shall be found necessary ; and that the Deputies of certain Cities shall not be admitted to the Diet till they have prov'd their Right.

After the Marshal of the Deputies is Elected, and a Court of Justice Established, for the security of all that is done during the Diet, they begin to treat of the *Exorbitances*, or Irregularities committed against the Republick in General, or against private Persons. Then they give Audience to the Ambassadors of all the Princes, who either Aspire to the Crown, or Recommend some of the Pretenders.

When the Ambassadors are to have their Audience, the Republick sends for them, beginning with the Pope's Nuncio ; then proceeding to the Emperour's Ambassador, after him to the *French* Ambassador, and next to that of *Spain* : But, since the Diet of Election, held at *Warsaw*, after the Death of *Sigismund Augustus*, when the *Spanish* Ambassador demanded Audience before the Ambassador of *France*, who, notwithstanding, was pre-

prefer'd before him, whereupon he retir'd without making his Harangue ; there has never been any Ambassanor from the Court of *Spain* : For, as for *Don Ronquillos*, the *Spanish* Minister, who was present at the Diet in 1674. for the Election of the late King *John III.* he never durst assume the Title or Quality of Ambassador, least he should be oblig'd to give place to the Ambassador of *France*.

The Diet always sends some of the Senators to the Ambassadors. I know not whether there be any Constitution that regulates the number of those that are sent to the Ministers ; but, I remember, the Diet in 1674. deputed 2 *Palatins*, and 4 *Castellans*, to the Ambassador of *France* ; and all the Friends of the *French* Faction sent their Servants and Coaches, so that his Train consisted of above 100 Coaches, and more than 3000 Men.

When the Ambassadors receive Audience, they make their Harangue in *Latin*. The Arch-bishop, or Bishop, who presides, Answers for the Senate, and the Marshal of the Deputies for the Nobility. The *French* Ambassador, in his return from the Audience, was attended by the same Train that accompany'd him thither. And since a plentiful Entertainment is, next to Money, the most prevailing and successful Argument to win the Esteem and Affection of a *Polander*, it ought to be one of the principal cares of an Ambassador, to Treat 'em Liberally, and to allow 'em so much, as may not only fill their Stomachs, but intoxicate their Brains.

Besides the care that an Ambassador ought to take to Manage the Orders of the Senate and Nobility, he ought, in a particular manner, to oblige the *Clergy*, who, by reason of their Interest and Authority, are most capable of rendring his Negotiation successful. He must be always ready to make them considerable Presents, which they receive under the notion of Alms ; that in their  
Sermons

Sermons and private Discourse, they may extol the Liberality and Magnificence of his Master: 'Tis plain then that an Ambassador ought to be Liberal to all the various Ranks and Conditions of People, that he may gain the Assistance of some, and avoid the Opposition of others. Besides, he ought not to pay 'em all that he promises in ready Money, but give them part at first, and keep 'em in expectation of the rest, otherwise they do not believe themselves oblig'd to keep their Word; and the hopes of receiving more, has a far greater Influence upon 'em, than the consideration of what they have receiv'd already.

I have already observ'd, and 'twill not be improper to repeat it, that an Ambassador is oblig'd to Manage all the Senators in General, as 'tis in a particular manner his Interest to Manage the Bishops and Clergy; because they are the Heads and Masters of Religion, by which the People are usually soonest gain'd; But, above all, if an Ambassador designs to obtain the Favour of the Senate, he must never forget to secure the Assistance of at least one of the most Considerable Prelates; And 'tis even expedient to Treat the Clergy as well as the Laity. For the Money that is spent in Feasts is sometimes bestow'd to better purpose, than that which is given away in Presents, because he that gives Presents acquires the Jealousy and Hatred of those whom he neglects; whereas many Persons at once may be oblig'd by a Well-tim'd Entertainment. Liberality is the most necessary Qualification of an Ambassador; for, if he should be Penurious, his Master would be accused of the same fault; and the People, who Judge only by what they see, would be apt to believe, that his Parsimony was a Mark of the Poverty of the Candidat whom he Represents.

'Tis also no less certain that an Ambassador should pursue no other Interest than that of his Master, that he should serve him without any private design, and blindly follow all his Orders and Intentions. 'Tis for this reason that the *Popes* forbid the *Nuncio's*, whom they send to *Poland* to the *Diets* of the Election of a King, to make any Interest to secure the advantage of the Privilege which that Prince has to Nominate one to the Dignity of a Cardinal, that it may appear to all the World, that they are only concern'd for the Publick good of *Christendom*, and that a Minister, who is sent from the Common Father of the Faithful, comes not thither with a Spirit of Partiality; but only with a design to promote the Election of a Prince, who may be able and willing to advance the good of the Church and State. Nevertheless, it has been frequently observ'd, that the *Nuncio's*, contrary to the express Orders of the Sovereign *Pontiff*, have acted zealously for their private Interests, and have made great Party's to secure the Nomination to the Cardinalship.

To return to the *Diet*; after all the Grievances are redress'd, and all the Ambassadors have had Audience of the Republick, they proceed to the Election of a King; But, before they give their Votes, they Implore, upon their knees, the Assistance of the *Holy Ghost*, by Singing the *Veni Creator*; after which, the Deputies of each *Palatinat* give their Votes, and Communicate 'em to the rest; and if all the Votes be for one Candidate, the Arch-bishop of *Gnesna*, or the Bishop who presides in his Pallace, demands thrice, Whether the Grievances be Redress'd, and afterwards Proclaims the King Elect, which is also done by the Marshals of the Crown, and of the Dutchy: after which they all Sing the *Te Deum*,

I observ'd, that the King Elect, is Proclaim'd by the Arch-bishop, when all the Votes are for him; For, it may sometimes happen, that the *Diet* may be divided, in which case the strongest Party carries it. Thus in the *Diet* that was held, after the Retreat of *Henry III.* one Party Chose *Stephen Batori*, and the other Elected *Maximilian of Austria*; *Maximilian* designing to enter into *Poland* with some Troops, was prevented by *Stephen Batori*, who arriv'd before him at *Cracom*, where he was Crown'd the 18th of *April*, 1576. Thus all the Voices were transmitted to King *Stephen*, whom the *Polanders* oblig'd afterwards to Marry the Princess *Ann*, whom they had already acknowledg'd for their Queen.

After the Death of *Stephen Batori*, there happen'd a much greater Division in the *Diet*; for there being Two Parties form'd, one of which was supported by *Zamoski*, and the other by *Sboroski*; the former Chose *Sigismund III.* Son to *John* King of *Sweden*, and *Catherine* Sister of *Sigismund Augustus*, the last of the Race of *Jagellon*, and Nephew to Queen *Ann* the Relict of King *Stephen*; and this Party was so strong, that they Crown'd *Sigismund* at *Cracom*, the 27th of *December*, 1587. tho' *Maximilian of Austria*, who was Elected by *Sborosky's* Party, had been Proclaim'd King in the Church of the *Bernardins* at *Warsaw*, by Cardinal *Radziwill*, who was of his Faction. In the mean time *Maximilian* entering into *Poland* with some Troops, *Zamoski* pursu'd him to *Byczin* in *Silesia*, where he defeated and took him Prisoner, *Jan.* 25. 1587. and oblig'd him to renounce his Title to the Crown. So that *Maximilian* was a Second time excluded from the Crown of *Poland*, and the Princes of the House of *Austria* a Third time; First, in the Person of *Ernest*, by the Election of *Henry de Valois*; Secondly, In *Maximilian*, by that of *Steven Batori*; And

a Third time in the same *Maximilian*, by that of *Sigismund III.*

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## CH A P. XVII.

### Of the Election of a Successor.

**T**HO' the Election of a Successor is contrary to the Laws and Constitutions of *Poland*, and inconsistent with the Privileges of an Elective Kingdom; it may sometimes happen, that the natural affection, which most persons have for their Children, or Relations, may induce them to make Party's in the Republick, to get them Chosen during their Life: Thus in the Reign of *Sigismund I.* his Son *Sigismund Augustus*, tho' but Ten years old, was nam'd King during his Father's Life, upon these Conditions; That he should not, in the least, meddle with the Affairs of *Poland* till after his Father's death; That when he came to be Fifteen years old, he should Swear to maintain all the Rights and Privileges of the Republick; And, that this Example should not prejudice a Free Election for the future; which his Father Confirm'd by Letters Patents given at *Cracow*, 1530. And afterwards by other Letters dated at *Peotrkow*, 1538. for that Prince lived 82 years. But *Sigismund Augustus* being dead, the Republick being Assembl'd in a Diet held at *Warsaw*, after they had carefully examin'd the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom, made a Constitution, by which they expressly Prohibited the Nomination of any Successor for the future, during the Life of the Reigning Prince, that they might Inviolably preserve the Right and Liberty of Choosing any Sovereign they pleas'd.

Never-



Nevertheless *Stephen Battori* seeing he had no Children, and considering the danger to which the Republick was expos'd during the Two last *Inter-regnums*, propos'd the Election of a Successor in a Diet held at *Warsaw*, contrary to the above-mention'd Constitution; But the whole Order of the Nobility oppos'd the Design of that Great King, who died soon after at *Grodno* in *Lithuania*, Decem. 12. 1586.

Since any Christian Prince may aspire to the Crown of *Poland*, 'tis evidently the Interest of 'em all to oppose the Election of a Successor, which might render the Kingdom Hereditary, and consequently ruin their Pretensions.

'Twas this Consideration that oblig'd the present Emperor to send *Francis de Lisola* to the Diet held at *Warsaw*, in the Year 1661. to oppose the Design of King *John Casimir*, who wou'd have had a Prince Chosen to Succeed him after his death: And this Envoy, with the Assistance of *John Orbeck*, Envoy of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who was also apprehensive of the same design, form'd a strong Party, and was so effectually seconded by Marshal *Lubomirski*, that they broke *Casimir's* design, and prevail'd with the Diet to make a Constitution, forbidding any person, for the future, to make mention of the Election of a Successor.

The reason why King *John Casimir* Summon'd a Diet at *Warsaw*, to deliberate about the Election of a Successor, was, because that Prince consider'd the danger to which the Republick had been expos'd for above Twelve years, during which they had Maintain'd a War against the *Cossacks*, *Tartars*, *Muscovites*, *Swedes*, *Transilvanians*, and the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and that none of all those Enemies would have Invaded *Poland*, if they had not been inconrag'd by his want of Issue. And there-

fore he look'd upon the Election of a Successor, as the most effectual way to prevent the disorders that might be occasion'd during an *Interregnum*, by the Jealousie and Ambition of the Neighbouring Princes, and especially of the *Muscovites*, who pretended to make themselves Masters of *Lithuania*, and to make all the Inhabitants Slaves.

There were also many *Lithuanian* Gentlemen who were engag'd in the same design with King *Casimire*, and had earnestly desir'd that Prince, and the Nobility of *Poland*, to Consent to the Election of a Successor, who might be able, after the King's death, to oppose the *Muscovites*, who only waited for that opportunity to enter into *Lithuania* with a great Army, and to possess themselves of that Dutchy.

A considerable Number of the Nobility were prevail'd with to comply with the intended Election of a Successor upon these Conditions; That he should be Chosen again after the death of the King; That he should be a *Roman Catholick*; That he should not be a *Piasie*, that is, a Native *Polander*; That he should not be a King, or Sovereign Prince of any other Country; That he should not be a Neighbour of *Poland*; That he shou'd be an Unmarry'd Person, and one that was neither too young, nor too old.

It must be acknowledg'd that the design was good: for the King, and those who seconded his desire, look'd upon this as the best (if not the only) Expedient, to secure the Republick from the otherwise unavoidable dangers, to which it wou'd be expos'd during an *Interregnum*, by the Ambition of it's Neighbours, and the Jealousy and Factions of those who shou'd aspire to the Crown. But those who oppos'd the Election of a Successor, alledg'd on the other hand, That no Prudent Person wou'd venture upon a present danger, to  
avoid

avoid a future inconveniency; That such an Innovation wou'd introduce, a Hereditary Succession, and entirely destroy the Liberty of Elections, notwithstanding all the measures that cou'd be taken to secure it; That 'twas contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom to Chuse a Prince during the Life of the King; That the Republick cou'd not consent to such an Election without divesting it self of its Liberty; That the Choice cou'd not be determin'd without offending several Princes, and involving the Nation in new Troubles, at a time when 'twas their Interest to maintain an uninterrupted Peace with all their Neighbours.

These are the most Material Arguments that were urg'd on both sides: I leave it to the Reader to Judge, which of 'em were most agreeable to Reason, that I may proceed to acquaint him with the nature of the *Pacta Conventa*, which the King Elect Swears to observe, in St. John's Church at *Warsaw*.

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### C H A P. XVIII.

#### *Of the Pacta Conventa, or the Contract betwixt the King and the People.*

THE *Polanders* are so fond of their Liberty and so afraid of losing it, that as soon as the King is Elected, they make Him Swear upon the Altars to maintain all their Privileges during His Reign. This is usually call'd the *Pacta Conventa*, which is properly a Contract betwixt the King and the People, by which the former is oblig'd to preserve all the Rights and Immunities of the latter.

According to the Laws of *Poland*, this important Ceremony ought to be perform'd before the King be Proclaim'd. Thus at the Election of *Henry of Valois*, after they had rejected *Ernest of Austria*, the Emperor's Son, and Confirm'd the Election of King *Henry*, *John de Mottuc* Bishop of *Valence*, that Prince's Ambassador, was oblig'd by the Senate to come to the Diet, where the Conditions that were to be observ'd by the New King, his Master, were Read in his Presence: After which he took an Oath to Observe 'em in the Name of *Henry de Valois*, and his Brother *Charles IX.* Then he was conducted to St. *John's Church*, where, after the Celebration of the Mass, *Henry of France* was Proclaim'd King of *Poland* by the Great Marshal of the Crown, *May 18. 1573.* Afterwards the Ambassadors that were sent by the Republick, to offer the Crown to King *Henry*, oblig'd both him and his Brother to take the same Oath at *Paris*, in the Great Hall of the Palace, on the 10th of *September* following. This is the Method prescrib'd by the Laws for Swearing to keep the *Pacta Conventa*; But this Regulation is not always punctually observ'd; For both King *Michael Vicznowieski*, and *John Sobieski*, took the Oath several days after their Election at *Warsaw*, upon the great Altar of St. *John's Church*.

The *Pacta Conventa*, or Contract, is drawn up and Methodiz'd by the Order of the Senate and Nobility; after which the Three Orders go to Church, where the Great Marshal Reads the whole Contract aloud, of which these are the principal Articles.

That the King shall not assume the Quality, or Title of Heir of *Poland*, nor appoint any Person to Succeed him: but that on the contrary, he shall Inviolably preserve and maintain the Laws and Constitutions relating to the Free Election of a King.

That

That he shall Ratify all the Treaties of Peace made with Foreign Princes.

That he shall make it his principal care to preserve the Publick Quiet and Tranquility.

That he shall not pretend to the Right of Coining Money, or deprive the Republick of the profits of the Coinage.

That, without the Consent of the Republick, he shall neither declare War against any Prince, nor give Orders for the levying of Forces. And that, without the same consent, he shall neither bring any Soldiers into the Kingdom, nor suffer any to go out of it.

That he shall not introduce any Strangers, of what Rank or Quality soever into his Council; and that he shall not bestow any Offices, Dignities or Governments upon 'em.

That all the Officers shall be *Polanders*, or *Litbuanians*, or at least Natives of such Provinces as depend upon the Crown of *Poland*.

That the Officers of the Regiment of Guards shall be Natives of *Poland*, or *Litbuania*; that the Colonel shall be a *Polish* Gentleman, that he shall take an Oath of Fidelity to the Republick; and that all the Officers shall be under the Jurisdiction of the Marshals.

That the King shall not Marry without the consent of the *Senate*, according to the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom; and that the Train and Attendants of the Prince, whom he shall Marry, shall be regulated by the *Senate*.

That he shall never make use of his private Signet, in Affairs that concern the Republick.

That for the preservation of his Power and Dignity, he shall dispose of the Offices both of the Republick and Court; least they should be either

usurp'd, or remain vacant; and that the number of 'em shall not be diminish'd.

That he shall Administer Justice, according to the Advice of the Senators and Counsellors that attend upon him.

That, for the Expences of his Table, he shall only possess those Revenues that were granted by the Republick to the Kings his Predecessors; and that he shall enjoy 'em only for his Life.

That he shall not confer upon any one Person the Offices or Dignities, which, according to the Ancient Laws, ought not to be possess'd by one Man.

That he shall take care, in the space of six weeks, to fill up all the vacant Offices.

That the first thing he shall do in the *Diet*, shall be to dispose of the Vacancy's, and to cause the Chancellor to publish them; and that in pursuance of the Laws he shall only bestow them on *Polish* Gentlemen, who are Persons of Merit, of the Age requir'd by Law, and of a staid and solid Judgment.

That he and his Council shall so regulate the Troops, as well Horse as Foot, that the Republick may not stand in need of any Foreign Troops, nor be put to an unusual Expence, and that the Soldiers shall be satisfy'd with their pay, and do no injury to the Peasants.

That he shall in no wise diminish the Treasure at *Cracow*, but on the contrary shall endeavour to augment it.

That he shall borrow no Money, but with the Consent of the Republick.

That if the Exigences of the State require Naval Forces, he shall not pretend to Levy 'em without the approbation of the Nobility, and the Advice of the Senate.

And finally, That all the Rights, Liberties, and Privileges, that have been justly and lawfully granted

ed to the *Polanders, Lithuanians*, and to all the Inhabitants of the Provinces depending on them, and to all the Cities, according to what has been ordain'd in the preceding *Diets*, and to what shall afterwards be ordained in the following *Diets*, shall be inviolably kept and preserv'd; and that he shall issue out his Letters Pattents to Confirm them in all their Clauses and Conditions.

They also frequently add several other Articles according to the exigency of the present Juncture, and the Quality and Circumstances of the Elected Prince.

As for the Ceremonies that are used when they make the King Swear the Capitulation, The Arch-bishop, and the Marshal of the Deputies carry it before him, after the Mass is said, and require him to take an Oath to observe it, according to his promise. Then the King being upon his Knees before the Great Altar, says, after the Chancellor,

*We N. Chosen King of Poland, and Great Duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Massovia, Samogitia, Kiovia, Volhinia, Podolia, Podlassia, Livonia, Smolensko, Siberia and Czernichovia, Promise to Almighty God, and Swear upon the Holy Evangelists of Jesus Christ, to observe, maintain, and accomplish all the Conditions agreed upon at our Election, by our Ambassadors, with the Senators and Deputies of Poland, and of the Great Dutchy of Lithuania, and Confirmed by the Oath of our Ambassadors; and to perform the same according to all the Clauses, Points, Articles and Conditions mention'd therein, and in such sort that the speciality cannot derogate from the generality, nor the generality from the speciality. All which we promise to Ratifie by our Oath on the Day of Our Coronation.*

After the King has Sworn to keep the *Pacta Conventa*, the Chancellor gives him the Decree of his Election Written in Parchment, and Signed by the Senators and Deputies.

The Republick of *Poland* uses these Precautions at the Election of their King, that if afterwards he should act contrary to what he promises to observe, the Senators may have a right to put him in mind of his duty. It was the breach of one of those Articles, which gave the *Polanders* occasion to complain of King *Michael*; for, in the *Paſſa Conventa* which he Swore to observe, they had Inserted this Article; That he should not Marry any Princess without the Consent of the Republick: Nevertheless, without asking their Consent, he Marry'd the Emperor's Sister; and the Party that was form'd against him look'd upon this as a sufficient ground to compel him to Abdicate.

If the Prince who is Elected be not present at *Warsaw*, he takes the Oath in the presence of the Deputies, whom the Republick sends for that purpose, and obliges himself before them, to observe all the Articles of the Capitulation. 'Twas thus that *Sigismund* the Third Swore to keep the *Paſſa Conventa*, in the Abby of *Oliva*, near *Dantzick*, Anno 1587. as they were drawn up by the Senate and the Nobility.

'Tis the Custom in *Poland*, that the Great Marshal, or in his absence the Petty Marshal, carries the Staff erect before the King when he goes to any Ceremony. But 'tis observable, that from the time of his Election to his Coronation, they carry the Staff bow'd down, that when the King Issues out any Letters, Orders or Constitutions, he only assumes the Quality of King Elect; and that no Dispatches can be Sealed but with the little Seal of the Closet, which is a sign that the Election is perfected by the Coronation; which is, as it were, the Seal of it.



## CHAP. XIX.

*Of the King's Coronation.*

A KING of *Poland* cannot exercise the Royal Authority before his Coronation: for he can neither dispose of any Office nor Benefice, nor so much as grant any Favour, nor use the Great Seal of the Chancery: and the Courts of Justice which ought to be kept in his Name, and are shut up at the beginning of the *Interregnum*, cannot make a Decree till after his Coronation.

'Tis the New King who appoints the Day for this Ceremony, which must be perform'd at *Cracow*, in the Cathedral Church, in the Castle. This City takes its Name from King *Cracus*, who built it in the Year 700, after he had left *Gnesna*, which was formerly the Capital City of the Kingdom. It is situated on the *Vistula*, in Upper *Poland*. 'Tis the Seat of a Bishop, who is a Suffragan of the Arch-bishop of *Gnesna*: The City is very large, fine, and well-built, but the Streets are ill Paved, as in most other Cities of that Country: However the Streets are very broad, and straight, with a great Square in the middle, where the Town-house is built. The Castle, or the King's Palace, is seated upon a little Eminence, or Rock, the Foot of which is washed by the *Vistula*. The Circumference of this Eminence is very small, and consequently the Palace is of no very great Extent; and as for the Church, tho it be the Cathedral of a great Diocese, and the Burying-place of the Kings of *Poland*; 'tis one of the smallest and least Beautiful Structures of that kind that I have had occasion to see in that Country.

It must be acknowledg'd, that the King's House is really well built ; but besides the extraordinary smallness and obscurity of the Court, it has neither Garden, Wood, nor Water ; nor is it adorn'd with any Walls, or Avenues ; It was formerly a strong place, when the strength of places consisted in the height of their Scituation, but 'tis now only fit to resist some flying Parties of Horse : 'tis here where the Jewels of the Crown are kept with the Royal Ornaments, that are used at the King's Coronation. There is also to be seen in the Little Hill, or Rising Ground, on which it stands, the Cave or Den of that Furious Dragon, which made such a terrible havock in all the Neighbouring places, and which, 'tis said, *Cracus* killed, by laying some Meat for him, mixt with Pitch and Brimstone.

When the Coronation-Day draws near, the King makes his Entry into *Cracom* on Horseback, the Sheriffs of the City carrying a Canopy of State before him. The Troops, both Horse and Foot March before, with their Officers ; and are follow'd by the *Palatines*, *Bishops* and *Ambassadors* on Horseback. The Ceremony is doubtless very Splendid, and I know not where a Traveller can have occasion to see a more Magnificent Cavalcade. A Man who rides on Horseback before the King, scatters some small pieces of Silver, stamp't with the Effigies of the New King, among the People in the Streets ; but this Liberality costs him so little, that I do not believe there are a hundred Crowns distributed. Thus the King is conducted from the City Gate to the Castle, passing thro the publick place, where there are several Triumphal Arches adorn'd with Statues, Devices, and various Inscriptions.

On the day that precedes the Coronation, which is called the day of Expiation, they perform

form the Funeral of the Deceased King, whose Body is carry'd to the Church of *St. Stanislaus* at *Schalka*, where the Marshalls break their Staves, and the Chancellors their Seals against the King's Coffin. The New King goes also thither with all the Officers of the Crown and Dutchy, and all that are present at Court. The Company's of Tradesmen walk thither bare-foot in Procession, each of them accompany'd with the representation of a Coffin cover'd with a Pall, supported by two Men. Thus the whole Multitude goes to visit the Relicks of *St. Stanislaus* Bishop of *Cracow*, who was kill'd in the Year 1079 by King *Boleslaus*, as he was saying Mass. After which they bring back the Body of the Deceased King to the Chapel of the Cathedral Church, which is the Burying-place of His Predecessors.

The day after the Funeral is the Coronation-Day; The Ceremony ought to be perform'd by the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, as Primate of the Kingdom; yet there are some Examples to the contrary. For *Stephen Battori* was Crowned by the Bishop of *Cracow*, because the Archbishop of *Gnesna* was of the Faction of *Maximilian* of *Austria*, whom a Party of *Polanders* had Chosen; and the late King *John Sobieski* was Crowned by the Bishop of *Cracow*, because the Archbishop of *Gnesna* died during the *Diet* of Election.

This day the King being Richly Cloathed, is conducted in Solemn Procession to the Cathedral Church, by the Senate and the Nobility. Before he enters into the Church, the Great Master of the Horse of the Kingdom brings the Crown, Scepter, Globe of Gold, and the Naked Sword to the Archbishop, who lays 'em upon the Altar; after which the Bishop of *Cracow* and *Cujavia*, having receiv'd the King, and holding Him between them, present Him to the Archbishop, to whom he makes a bow.

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The King being in this condition, the Archbishop, and the Two Bishops put him in mind of his Duty, and Obligation to the Republick; after which he kisses the Archbishops hand, and laying his own upon the Gospel, he Swears to observe Inviolably all the Articles which he had before Sworn to keep in the Cathedral Church of St. John at Warsaw. The Oath runs thus,

*We N. Chosen King of Poland, and Great Duke of Lithuania, Russia, Masovia, Prussia, Samogitia, Livonia, Smolensko, Volhinia, Kiovia, Siberia, Podolia, Podlassia, and Czernikowia, by all the Orders of both Estates of Poland, and Lithuania, and of all the Provinces which depend upon them, and are Incorporated with them, having been Elected freely, and with the Unanimous Consent of all; Promise sincerely, and Swear before Almighty God, and upon the Holy Evangelists of Jesus Christ, to Maintain, Observe, Keep and Fulfil, in all their Circumstances, Points and Articles, all the Rights, Liberties, Immunities, and Privileges, both Publick and private (that are not contrary to the common right, and liberties of both these Nations, or to any Law either Ecclesiastical or Temporal) that have been justly and lawfully establish'd by our Predecessors Kings of Poland, and Great Dukes of Lithuania, or granted by all the Orders during the Interregnum, to all the Roman Catholick Churches, Lords, Barons, Gentlemen, Citizens and Inhabitants of what rank or condition soever, with the Pacta Conventa agreed upon betwixt our Ambassadors and the Orders of the Kingdom and Great Dutchy of Lithuania.*

*Moreover, we promise to maintain whatsoever was Enacted or Agreed upon in the Diet of our Election, or shall be Enacted or Agreed upon in that of our Coronation, to execute the same, and to cause to be restored to the Kingdom, and to the Great Dutchy of Lithuania, and united to their Lands and Revenues whatsoever has been in any manner alienated, or dismembred therefrom*

*by*

by what way soever; Not to contract the limits of the Kingdom, and Great Dutchy of Lithuania, but to defend and enlarge them; to establish Courts of Justice in all places, for all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom, and the Dutchy of Lithuania, and to render Justice to every one without delay, or respect to persons. And if it should happen (which God forbid) that we should violate Our Oath in any one point, we consent that all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom, and of all our Territories, shall be discharg'd and exempted from the Obedience and Fidelity they owe us.

After the King has taken this Oath, He kneels upon a Cushion of Red Taffeta, while the Litany of the Saints is Read; at the end of which they take off his Clothes, and the Archbishop Anoints his Right hand and Arm up to the Elbow with Consecrated Oil, and afterwards his Shoulders and Forehead; and then they put on his Clothes again. After this Ceremony, the two Bishops Conduct him to the Chapel, where they Gloath him with another Habit, somewhat resembling that of a Bishop; then the Marshals of the Crown and Dutchy, with the Officers that are Senators, place him upon a Throne erected in the Middle of the Church, where He hears Mass, and is afterwards brought back to the Altar, where the Archbishop puts a Naked Sword into his Right-hand, saying, "Receive this Sword, with which you are powerfully to Protect and Defend the Holy Church and the Faithful." After which the Great Standard-bearer of the Kingdom Girds it to his side: The King having the Sword by His side, draws it out of the Scabbard, and bears the Air four times, in form of a Cross, towards the Four Parts of the World, and having wip'd it upon his Left Arm, he puts it up again into the Scabbard. Then he kneels, and the Archbishop puts the Crown upon His Head, the Scepter into His Right hand, and the Globe of Gold

Gold into His Left. After which the King rises; and His Sword is drawn, and given to the Sword-bearer of the Kingdom, to be carry'd before Him; and then Marching between the Archbishop and the Two Bishops, He is brought back to the same Throne.

All these Ceremonies being ended, the Archbishop returns to the Altar; and after *Te Deum* is Sung, and that Prelate Seated, the King comes to make His Confession to him; after which he gives the Sacrament to His Majesty, and then the Benediction to the People. This done, the Marshal of the Court Cries, *Vivat Rex*; and is Answer'd by all the People, who Repeat the same words. In the mean time the Treasurer of the Kingdom scatters Money among the People who are in the Church. 'Twou'd be needless to describe the Feast that usually follows this Ceremony, since I intend in a peculiar Chapter to give a particular Account of the Feasts and Entertainments of the *Polanders*. Only it may be reasonably suppos'd, that a Feast which a King makes, after His Coronation, is very Splendid and Magnificent.

The Day after the Coronation, the King goes in Great Pomp, being Cloathed in His Royal Robes, to the Town-house, where, upon a Throne Erected before the House, the Magistrates come to Assure him of their Fidelity, and present him with the Keys of all the Gates in a Silver Dish: the Chancellor, or Vice-Chancellor, assures them reciprocally of the Affection and Clemency of the King, and Reads, with an Audible Voice, the Oath of Fidelity, which they take kneeling, and holding up their hands. Then they present His Majesty with a Purse full of Ducats; after which he restores the Keys, and makes some of the Burgeses of the City, or of some other place, Golden Knights, by striking them softly with his Na-  
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ked Sword upon the Shoulders. This done, the Treasurer of the Crown scatters some Pieces of Silver among the People: at the same time the King goes to a House that looks into the Square, and afterwards returns to the Castle with the same Train that Accompany'd him to the Town-house.

I have already observ'd, that 'tis the Interest of the King of *Poland* to get himself Crown'd as soon as 'tis possible, and I shall take this occasion to shew what advantage he receives by it. 'Tis certain, that assoon as the *Polish* Noblemen have Chosen their King, they begin to look upon him as an Usurper of their Liberties; and, on the other hand, the King looks upon the Nobility as a Formidable Body, that opposes all his Designs. Now he cannot either weaken them, or strengthen himself more effectually, than by making 'em pay dear for the Favors he bestows upon 'em. For, 'tis in his power to dispose of all the Offices, Benefices, and Royal Gifts, which amonnt to a third part of all the Revenues of the Kingdom; which he cannot do till after his Coronation.

Nevertheless, the late King was so far from observing this Maxim, that tho' he might have been Crown'd immediately after the Day of his Election, which was *May 19. 1674.* he did not appoint the Day for his Coronation till *Feb. 2. 1676.* during which time he made Two Campaignes, one in *Ukrania*, and the other in *Podolia*. As for that in *Ukrania*, he set out from *Warsaw*, *August 22. 1674.* and advanc'd towards *Leopold*, where his Army was to Rendezvous. There he was inform'd, that the Queen his Wife lay sick at *Casimirs* upon the *Vistula*; Whereupon he left the Camp at *Leopold*, and arriv'd at *Casimirs* on the *8th of October*. Not long after he return'd to the Army, because the Nights began to grow so cold, that the *Turks*  
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who are not accustom'd to such a Cold Climate, began to think of retiring.

After the *Turks* had withdrawn their Forces, the King led the Army of the Crown, and that of *Lithuania*, which both together amounted to about 30000 Men, into *Ukrania*, where he kept them so long, that the *Lithuanian* Troops, under the Command of the Great General *Patz*, abandon'd him, to avoid the Miserable Fate of the *Polish* Army, which was so harass'd with Hunger and Cold, that it was reduc'd to less than 3000 Men; for the King staid in *Ukrania* till *April*, and arriv'd on the 25th of that Month at *Sloczow*, whither the Queen was come to receive him.

The *Turks* understanding that the *Polish* Army was ruin'd in *Ukrania*, that the King was gone back with the Miserable Remnants of his Forces, and that those of *Lithuania* had left him against his will, they return'd with a Great Army in the beginning of *July*, 1675, when the King was at *Jawarow*, thinking of nothing but to refresh himself after the Fatigues of the Preceding Campaign. But upon the first Advice of the March of the *Ottoman* Army, which consisted of 30000 *Turks*, and 80000 *Tartars*; he set out from *Jawarow* the 10th of *July*, and Marched in hast to *Leopold*, which the *Turks* threatned to Besiege. He Encamp'd near the City with about 3000 Men, whom he had drawn together; and the *Turks* being inform'd of his weakness, sent a Body of 14000 *Tartars* to force his Camp, but they durst not Attack him. 'Twas given out, that a great number of *Tartars* were killed on the 24th of *August*, 1675, in the Attack of the Camp at *Leopold*, tho' 'tis certain that there was only one Horse wounded with an Arrow. For the *Tartars* retir'd without losing one of their Men, or wounding one of their Enemies.

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The *Turks*, as I intimated before, are not able to bear the extream coldness of the Winter in *Poland*; for, having once enter'd *Russia* with a formidable Army, and not returning soon enough, they were surpriz'd with so violent a Cold, that above 40000 of 'em were Frozen to death, and many were found dead in their Horses Bellies, into which they had crept to secure themselves from the Cold. And 'tis this that obliges them to retire out of *Poland* by the end of *October* at farthest.

## CHAP. XX.

*Of the Queens of Poland.*

HAVING Discours'd at length of the Kings of *Poland*, and of their Election and Coronation, it will not be improper to give some account of the Queens: 'Tis certainly of great Importance to the Republick, that a King, when he Marries, should choose a Princess, whose Alliance may be advantageous to the State. And therefore this Article is inserted in the *Paeta Conventa*, which the New King Swears to observe, that he shall not Marry without the Consent of the Republick. For they are as much concern'd as the King himself, in the Choice of a Queen, tho' the *Polish* Nobility are not oblig'd to Choose any of his Children to Succeed him. So that a King of *Poland* cannot Marry without the Consent of the Republick, unless he resolve to violate his Oath, and expose himself to the Jealousy and Hatred of His people, who are not easily pacify'd on such occasions. Thus when *Sigismund III.* Marry'd *Ann* of *Austria*, without the Consent of the Republick, and caused

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her to be Crown'd at *Cracow* in the Year 1592, he met with so much opposition in the *Diet*, that was afterwards held at *Warsaw*, that he was forc'd to acknowledge his Fault.

As a King of *Poland* cannot Marry without the Consent of the Republick, so he cannot Divorce his Wife without the same Approbation. For when *Sigismund Augustus*, the last of the Race of the *Jagellons*, separated from *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, because of a Crime with which she was falsely charg'd, and after her Death Marry'd one *Radziwill*, a Widow of a *Palatin* of *Troki*; The Senators were so exasperated, that they had almost proceeded to declare the Throne Vacant, because he slighted his Fair and Chast Queen and Wife, and Marry'd the Widow of a simple *Palatin*, without the Consent of the Republick.

But *Vladislaus* the IV. pursu'd wiser Maxims: He was sensible of the danger of Irritating a stubborn and seditious People, and had a more tender regard to the Articles he had Sworn to observe. For when the King of *England* offer'd him his Niece, the Elector *Palatine's* Daughter in Marriage, he declin'd the Match, and declar'd, that he neither cou'd nor wou'd Marry without the Consent of the Republick; which, in that case, he could not expect to obtain, because the Princess was a Protestant.

When a King of *Poland* Marries after his Coronation, the Queen cannot be Crown'd without the Consent of the Republick. But if he be Marry'd before, he may cause her also to be Crown'd without asking their Consent. So that the Report which was spread abroad, after the Election of the late King *John III*, was false and groundless: for 'twas given out, That the Queen his Wife would not be Crown'd, and that the *Austrian* Faction oppos'd it, both because she was a *French-woman* born,  
and

and because she was but a private Gentlewoman; But the event shew'd the contrary; for she was Crown'd at *Cracow* with her Husband, without the least opposition. But if a Queen of *Poland* be not a Catholick, she cannot be Crown'd, as it happen'd to *Helen*, the Wife of *Alexander I.* and Daughter to the Duke of *Muscovy*, who being of the *Greek Church*, and refusing to imbrace the *Roman Catholick Faith*, the Republick would never consent that She should be Crown'd.

Tho' according to the Constitutions of the Republick, and the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom, both the Kings and Queens of *Poland* ought to be Crown'd at *Cracow*; we find that this Ceremony has been sometimes perform'd in other places. For Queen *Cecilia*, the Wife of *Uladislaus IV.* was Crown'd at *Warsaw* in the Year 1637. And tho' there was a Law made the next Year, that the Queens should always be Crown'd at *Warsaw*, Anno 1670. 'Tis true, this was done with the consent of all the Orders of the Republick.

When the Queen is Crown'd, the King must desire it of the Republick; he must be present at the Ceremony himself; Conduct her to the Church; and present her to the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, or to the Bishop who is to perform the Ceremony. The Archbishop Anoints Her with the Consecrated Oil, and puts the Crown upon Her head, the Scepter into Her right hand, and the Globe of Gold into Her left.

The Queens of *Poland* have no Officers, but a Marshal and a Chancellor; neither of whom are Senators, but only Judges of the Differences that happen among her Domesticks. They Answer the Harangues that are made to the Queen, when an Ambassador makes her a Compliment in His Master's Name, or when a Present is made to her at the Marriage of a Maid of Honour.

The King furnishes the Queen with Money, to defray the Charge of her Household. But after the King's death she must maintain her self, and all her Retinue, with the Revenue which the King bestows upon her, with the Consent of the Republick, both for her Dowry, and for her Marriage-Present. These Revenues are call'd the *Reformation*, and consist of the Reversion of a certain number of *Starosties*, which she cannot enjoy till they become vacant by the Death of the present Possessors. So that a Queen of *Poland* is frequently kept from her Estate till she be just ready to leave it. For sometimes those who possess the *Starosties* that are in her *Reformation*, out-live her. But if the King die before the Queen's *Reformation* be settled upon her, the Republick allows her a Yearly Pension out of the Crown-Lands, as they did to Queen *Eleanor* in the Year 1674, after the Election of King *John*; for they were so kind to that Princess, as to give her a Yearly Pension of 120000 *Livres*, by an express Article which was afterwards inserted in the *Pacta Conventa*; but she chose rather to quit both that and the Kingdom, than to see a *French* Gentlewoman succeed a Princess of the House of *Austria*.

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## CHAP. XXI.

*Of the Polish Army.*

THERE is so little Order or Discipline observ'd in the *Polish* Army, that the Country is frequently harass'd by those who are paid to defend it, and the Republick is oblig'd to Raise New Troops every Year.

At

At the first there were few Cities in *Poland*; But when the Inhabitants grew more Industrious in Cultivating the Ground, they were perpetually molested by their Neighbours, who, by frequent Inrodes, endeavour'd to deprive 'em of the fruit of their Labours. In order to oppose these Invasions, the Kings caused Castles and Fortresses to be built in the Cities, which always subsisted so long as they were Protected by the Royal Authority, and defended by good Officers, and Disciplin'd Soldiers: But since those Forts were neglected, several Lords have endeavour'd to usurp the Possession of 'em, that they might extend their Dominion over the Cities, and oppress the Burghers as they do the Peasants in the Villages. Those whom the Kings entrusted with the Government of those Places, did not employ the Revenues that were annex'd to 'em, in Repairing the Walls and Fortifications; whence it comes that all their Cities are open; and that the Soldiers, who are put there into Winter Quarters, may go out when they please and Ravage the Country. For when a Regiment is to be sent from one end of the Kingdom to the other, the Commander is only Order'd to set out, and to go to the place appointed, without mentioning either the time, or the places through which he is to March, or the Cities where he is to Quarter; so that he may run through the Whole Kingdom, and so sometimes spend a Moneth or six Weeks in Marching to a place, which he might have reach'd in Eight days. 'Tis plain, that these disorderly Marches must of necessity waste and destroy the Cities and Villages through which the Soldiers pass: Nor is the Law able to remedy such an insupportable Grievance, because it is not the Custom in *Poland* to establish Magazines and Store-houses in any place,

The Gentlemen who go to the Army, spend the best part of their Estates in furnishing themselves with Magnificent Arms, fine Horses, and rich Apparel, maintaining a Numerous Train of Servants. Their Estates alone are not sufficient to defray so vast a Charge; and besides, they receive no Pay for a considerable time after they enter into the Service; so that they are, in a manner, constrain'd to Oppress the People, that they may be able to support their extravagant vanity. Some who are naturally of a less violent temper, endeavour to excuse a Fault, which they are forc'd to acknowledge, by laying the blame upon the Court, pretending, that the King bestows the Royal Gifts of the Republick, and the Offices and Dignities upon the Courtiers, or other great Lords, who either have no need of 'em, or do not deserve 'em, in stead of giving 'em to those who have done good Service in the Army, where they have spent their Estates, and expos'd their Lives for the defence of their Country; Others accuse those who are entrusted with the management of the *Finances*, who make 'em wait very long for their Pay, and even then oblige 'em to quit part of it, that they may procure the rest. These Grievances exasperate their Minds, and frequently occasion great Complaints in the *Diet*.

When they Levy Soldiers in *Poland*, the Captains exact Contributions on those Places where they Raise their Men, and give very little to the Soldiers, Retaining the Money they Receive on the Publick Account, always finding some unjust pretext to Defraud the Soldiers of their Pay, who are consequently under a strong Temptation, to Rob and Pillage the Country; the Officers not daring to Restrain a Disorder which is occasion'd by themselves.

To put a stop to these Irregularities, it has been frequently Propos'd to the *Diets*, by some Wise and Considering Persons, to keep the Soldiers always Encamp'd, that they may be perpetually under a Strict Discipline, ready to oppose the Enemy, and by that means kept from Pillaging and Ruining the Kingdom. And this Expedient wou'd doubtless be very agreeable and advantageous to the People, who could, with less trouble, Raise Money to Pay the Troops at Distance, than Maintain them at Home, and suffer all the Disorders which they commit in their frequent Marches thro' the Countrey. This Remedy has been very much commended by some, but others are of opinion, that if the Soldiers were always kept in a Camp, under the Command of one Officer, 'twou'd be a means to make the Generals of the Armies too Powerful. Thus the Soldiers continue to oppress the People, and harraß the Kingdom, without any Prospect of Redress.

I intimated before, that the want of Discipline, and the little Order that is observ'd among the *Polish* Troops, is the reason why they are oblig'd to Raise a New Army almost every Year; But the manner of Paying their Soldiers, which is neither every Week, nor every Moneth, nor every six Moneths, and sometimes not at all, is a more dangerous Fault, because it keeps 'em under a perpetual Temptation to Desert; For when they are in the Army, they live upon *Coleworts*, *Roots*, *Fruits*, which they find in the Woods, and on Horse-flesh when they can get it. It is not the Custom in *Poland* to give Ammunition-bread, so that the Officers are forc'd to let the Soldiers shift for themselves; and consequently, since the greatest part of them are Starv'd, 'tis no wonder that they must raise a New Army every Year,

They Pay the Officers but once in the Year, and frequently but once in two years; and for that end they appoint Commissioners to meet at some place Remote from the Court, because by a Constitution of the *Diet*, the King ought not to be present at the Meetings that are held for the Payment of the Soldiers, tho' every thing is done in his Name. The Commissioners that are deputed by the *Diet*, regulate the Payment of all the Officers, and usually make some Abatement, especially to Strangers. Nor must they be absolutely blam'd for abridging the Pay of the Officers, because they hardly lay out any Money for the Subsistence of their Companies; whereas the Commissioners make up their Accounts as if they had entertain'd their Soldiers at their own Charges. 'Tis plain, the *Pollish* Service is advantageous to the Officers, who are in a condition to wait some time for their Money.

The Army is usually Paid but once in Two Years, and sometimes the Republick is not able to Pay 'em then; which occasions an universal Murmuring among the Soldiers, and obliges 'em sometimes to enter into a Confederacy, which they do in this manner. After the Officers have long complain'd of the retaining of their Pay, and have Remonstrated to the Court, and to the *Diet*, that they can no longer subsist without it: and after they perceive that their Complaints and Remonstrances are neglected, they assemble together, and make a *Rokosz*, which, in the *Polish* Language, signifies a Separation from their Generals. The Subaltern Officers thus Assembled, chuse Two of their number; one for their Marshal, and the other for his Lieutenant: To these Officers, whom they call *Substitutes*, they take an Oath of Fidelity, to oblige the Republick to Pay 'em: After which the Marshal Commands this Confederate Army, as if he were actually the General of it. 'Tis obvious to every

confide-



considering Person, that such a Revolt must be attended with Terrible Consequences; For then the Army, in stead of Marching towards the Enemy, or Guarding the Frontiers, harasses the Country, and with an unbridled liberty over-runs the Estates of the Noblemen, making Necessity the Pretext of all the Disorders they commit.

The Danger of these Confederacies will appear, if we reflect upon the Violent Proceedings of the Confederate Army, of which *Smiderski* was Marshal, and *Borzecki* Substitute; which was not so much occasion'd by want of Pay, as by the Parties that were form'd by some Persons, who hop'd to Enrich themselves during the General Disorder, which cou'd not be quieted, without a great deal of trouble, at *Leopold*, by King *John Casimir*, in the Year 1663.

'Tis thus that the Army enters into a Confederacy, tho' there is a Law, or Constitution, that whosoever shall presume to hold Meetings, make Harangues, raise Seditions, or enter into Confederacies, shall be guilty of Death; and that whosoever shall joyn the Confederates, shall be depriv'd of his Estate and Office.

I have also observ'd another Defect in *Poland*, concerning the Office of the General of the Army, which is given for Life; so that 'tis not in the King's Power to Displace a General whom he has once Advanc'd, tho' he is often oblig'd to confer this Dignity upon some Great Lord, who is perfectly unacquainted with the Art of War. 'Tis not at all strange then, that *Poland* shou'd suffer some Losses from time to time, and let slip several Opportunities of weakning their Enemies; For they have more need, than any other Nation, of an Active and Experienc'd General, who knows how to manage the Soldiers, and will not keep them too long in a Place, where there is neither

ther Forage for the Horse, nor Substinance for the Foot; who will never engage his Troops in any place, from whence he cannot easily make good his Retreat; nor ever neglect an advantageous occasion of giving Battle to his Enemy; and especially one who knows, that a Numerous Army ought not to engage with a Small one in a narrow and close place; because, in such a case, a handful of Men may beat a Formidable Army, as it appears, for Example, by the Instance of Marshal *Lubomirski*, who defeated the Vanguard of King *John Casimir's* Army, at the Passage of *Montroi*; and of the *Teutonic* Knights, who, tho' much Inferior in Number to the Army of King *Casimir III.* defeated them in a place, where King *Casimir's* Troops could not extend themselves, nor put themselves in Battalia. If therefore the *Polanders* had Experienced Generals, they might, one Day, destroy all the *Ottoman* Infantry, for which they have had several Fair Opportunities; they might regain all that they have lost, and even extend their Conquests farther. But, to obtain this Advantage, the Office of General of the Army ought not to be given for Life, but only to Persons of Merit, because there is nothing that more animates the Courage of an Officer, than the hope of Higher Preferment; and there are more who aspire to that Honour, when they may attain it by their own Merit, without expecting the Death of those who possess it: And 'tis certain, that heretofore this Office was not given for Life in *Poland*, as 'tis at present. For *John Tarnowski* was the first whom King *Sigismund* made Perpetual General of the Army of the Crown, and afterwards *Nicholas Radziwill* was advanc'd to the same Dignity in *Lithuania*.

There is also in *Poland* another Disorder among the Officers, viz. that they seldom come to the place of Rendezvous on the Day appointed; for  
there

there are many of them who do not arrive there with their Companies, or Regiments, till a Moneth, and sometimes Six weeks after: and even there are some who leave the Army a Moneth before the Campaign is ended. The King of *Poland* and the Generals might easily Remedy this Disorder, but they dare not attempt to do it, for fear of offending some Persons of Quality, whose Affection they must carefully preserve. For they who leave the Army, or come not to the Rendezvous by the Day prefixt, are commonly *Polish* Gentlemen, and not Strangers, who are more exact, and dare not assume such Liberties without asking and obtaining Leave.

As 'tis impossible to carry on a War without Money, so there is no other way to Raise Money but by Taxes. And therefore besides the ordinary Revenues of the Republick, which are the Fourth Part of the Estates and Offices that are in the King's Gift, The Customs upon Wines and Merchandizes, and the Tribute that is Exacted from the *Jews*, they impose also in time of Necessity a certain Sum, by way of Poll, upon every Person's Head, which is no new sort of Tax in *Poland*: For King *Casimir* III. after he had lost the Battle against the *Teutonic* Knights, Summon'd a *Diet* at *Peotrkow*, in which it was ordain'd, That the whole Gentry and Clergy, and even the King Himself, should give half of their Revenues for defraying the Charge of the War.

The *Polish* Army is compos'd of *Polanders* and Strangers: All the *Polish* Troops are Cavalry, and are called *Hufartsz*, and *Tovarzystz*. The *Hufartsz* are Chosen Men, Brave, and in good Condition. The *Tovarzystz* are so called from a word which signifies a *Comerade*, and both sorts are Gentlemen; The one are Armed with Lances, and the other with Bows and Arrows; and there are  
some

some Troops of Horse, who have behind their Backs Wings made of Cocks Feathers, which are usually White, in order to frighten the Enemies Horses, which are not accusom'd to such sights. They are all Richly Cloath'd with the Skins of *Tygers*, *Leopards*, or *Panthers*: their Horses are also very fine, and well-harnessed. In a word, it may be said, that they are the finest and best Cavalry in the World; and that they would be Invincible if they were more submissive, and better Paid.

As for the Foreign Troops, they are almost all Infantry, and are called *Forreigners*, because they are kept on *German* Pay, and receive the Word of Command in the *German* Language, tho most of the Soldiers and Officers are *Polanders*. Those Troops are divided into Regiments of Foot, or Dragoons, and the Regiments into Companys, as in *France*; But the Soldiers are so miserably poor, that the greatest part of them have neither Swords nor Shooes. When they lie in Towns, they live on Three *Gros* a day, which are worth Two pence of *Polish* Money, or a Penny *English*, and upon what they can steal from the Peasants that come that come to the Markets; for 'tis not the Custom in *Poland* to give them Ammunition-bread; and even the Officers of Foot are not better Cloath'd than our common Soldiers.

I proceed, in the next place, to give some Account of the Equipage with which the *Polanders* go to the Army: And first, There are no Sutlers in the *Polish* Army; for, besides that, the Soldiers would not pay 'em, they could never arrive in the Camp without being plunder'd by the Soldiers, and especially by the *Lithuanians*, who are more accusom'd to Pillage than the *Polanders*; so that every Man must carry every thing that he stands in need of along with him; which obliges the Officers to have a great Equipage, and to provide

vide sufficient quantities of Meat, Bacon, Butter, Salt, Sugar, Comfits, Spices, Beer, Hungary-Wine, Brandy, Oats, and generally of every thing that is necessary for themselves, their Servants, and their Horses: They have many Wagons, as well for carrying all sorts of Provisions, as their Tents, which are very heavy, but very fine. As for the poor Soldiers, I have already intimated, that they live upon Roots, and the flesh of dead Horses, or such as they find lying in Quagmires. For if the Owner does not take speedy care to draw him out, he must expect to be prevented by the Famish'd Soldiers, who, in a moment, cut him into a Thousand Pieces.

'Tis generally known and acknowledg'd, that the success of an Enterprize, especially in War, depends in a particular manner upon two things, viz. Secrecy, and the Certain Knowledge which a General ought to have of the strength or weakness of his Enemies, and of the place where they are posted. As for Secrecy, which is the Soul of all Important Affairs; it is so little observ'd in *Poland*, that every petty Officer is acquainted with all the Great General's Designs: And as for the Knowledge of the State of the Enemy, since the *Polanders* never make use of Spyes, they never learn any News of the Enemy's Army, till they meet with some of their Parties. And this is the reason why the News which come from the *Polish* Army are so uncertain, that those who are acquainted with the Country, seldom give any Credit to these Reports.

The Army of *Poland* being thus Compos'd, and being accompany'd with such an Equipage as I lately mention'd, is under the Command of a Great General, and of the General of the Field; and besides these Two General Officers, there are also others under them, as the Master of the Artillery, the

the *Piſſarſz*, or Intendant of the Army, the Great Standard-Bearer, the Field-Maſhal, the General of the Centinels, and the Major-Generals, who are the ſame with our Brigadiers.

Before I conclude this Chapter, there is one thing more obſervable in the *Polish* Army, which is, that if News be brought to them, when they are at Table, that the Enemy appears, they will not ſtir till they have done, to Mount their Horſes, and purſue their Enemies.

## CHAP. XXII.

### *Of the Eſtates and Revenues of the Poles.*

THE Eſtates in *Poland* are of Three ſorts, either Royal, Eccleſiaſtick, or Patrimonial. The Royal Eſtates are part of the Domain, and belong to the Republick. They conſiſt of the *Staroſties*, *Salt-works*, and half the Revenue of the Port of *Dantzick*. As for the *Staroſties*, the King is oblig'd to beſtow them on *Polish* Gentlemen, within Six Months after a Vacancy; for 'tis not in his Power to reſerve any of them for himſelf, except thoſe that are called Royal Oeconomies, which, together with the *Salt-works*, and the Port of *Dantzick*, belong properly to him; ſo that his whole Revenue amounts to but about a Million of Livers. But then he is not to pay any Troops out of it, nor ſo much as his own Regiment of Guards; and all the Officers of his Houſhold, who are Gentlemen of *Poland*, ſerve him without any Salary, in hopes of obtaining ſome Benefice, or *Staroſtie*. So that he is at no Charge but for his Table, Cloaths, and

and Stable; and besides, he receives many Presents of Flesh, Fish, Stuffs, Hay and Oats.

The *Starosties* ought only to be given to old Officers, who have serv'd long time in the Army, and are, as it were, Super-annuated: for the Polish Word *Starosc*, signifies old Age; and he who enjoys one of those Estates, is call'd *Starosta*, from *Stary*, which signifies an Old Man. There are Two sorts of *Starosties*; some are empower'd to exercise a Jurisdiction thro' the whole extent of their Territory, whereas there are others without any Jurisdiction: The first are the most considerable, tho' they are not always the Richest. Each *Starosta* is oblig'd to give the fourth part of the Revenue of his *Starostie* to the Republick; and no Man can possess Two of those who have Jurisdiction. The King may bestow the Reversion of a *Starostie* upon the *Starosta's* Wife, except in *Rússia*, which is a Frontier Province; for since a *Starostie* is a Government, the Republick supposes that the Governor ought to reside upon the place: but Polish Gentlemen may be made Governours of Frontier Places, because the Republick relies more upon their Fidelity than upon that of Forreigners; tho' they are sometimes deceiv'd in this Maxim; For he who surrender'd the City of *Caminiec* to the *Turks*, without making any Resistance, was not only a Gentleman of *Poland*, but even a *Palatine*.

As for the *Salt-works* of *Poland*, the most considerable are those of *Vieltuczka* and *Boehinia*, about Five Leagues from *Cracow*; which yields about 400000 Livres Yearly: They were found out in the Year 1252. They resemble deep Mines dug in the Earth, to which they descend by a hole, like to that of a Quarry. The Workmen, who are employ'd in Digging out the Salt, begin to enter the Pits at Midnight, and those who go down first, begin

begin to come out about Noon, because they must be let down, and drawn up with a great Rope, like that with which large Stones are rais'd up out of *Quarries*. As they dig the *Salt* out of the Mines, they must leave great Pillars from place to place, to support the Earth: and since these Vaulted Pits are all cover'd with *Salt*, when one goes down into them, he seems to be surrounded with a Thousand Crystals, which reflect the Light of the Torches. There are some parts of 'em dug so far, that it would be dangerous to go into 'em, because 'one might easily lose himself in these Labyrinths. The *Salt* is taken out in large Columns, which being loosen'd from the Mine, are drawn by Horses just under the Mouth of the Pit, and afterwards drawn up like Stones out of a Quarry. The Horses continue always in those Subterranean Caverns, but the Men come out every day; and (which is very remarkable, there is a Spring of Sweet Water in the *Salt-pits*, of which both the Men and Horses drink.

After the *Salt* is brought out of the Pits, they carry those great Pieces, or Columns, through the whole Kingdom, except *Prussia*, where they only use *French Salt*. Before the *Polish Salt* can be us'd, it must be beaten to pieces, and then ground in a Mill. Besides these Pits of *Bochnia* and *Vieluczka*, there are other *Salt-works* at *Halicz* in *Pokutia* on the *Neister*, at *Kolomey* in the same Province, on the River *Frut*, and at *Pinsk*, a City of *Lithuania* in *Polesia*; and besides these, there are some others which belong to private Men; for there is an express Law, that the Republick shall not pretend a Right to the Mines of *Salt*, or of any Metals which are found in any Gentleman's Lands. There is also White *Salt* made in many other places of *Poland*, as in the *Palatinat* of *Craeow*, between *Ofwiecin*, upon the *Vistula*, and Mount *Crapat*; But  
this



this Salt is for the King's use ; besides, they make great quantities of Salt in *Russia*, by Boiling Salt-water, which costs 'em little, because that Province is all cover'd with Woods.

There are also some Mines of Lead mixt with Silver in the Burroughs of *Ilkusch*, *Slankow*, *Kranow* and *Nowoguiia*, which are in the *Palatinat* of *Cracow*; and in that of *Sandomir* there is Salt-peter at *Vieliczca*; there is also *Vitriol* found at *Byecz*, and *Quicksilver* at *Tustan* in *Pokutia* towards the Mountains.

The Ecclesiastick Estates are the Benefices, as Bishopricks, Abbacy's, Priory's, Canonships, Curacies, and all the Lands that are possess'd by the Regular Clergy. The Benefices are not so numerous as in *France*, for there are but Sixteen Bishopricks, and some Abbacy's: But the Bishopricks are of a great extent, and endow'd with large Revenues, some of these Prelates having above 100000 Livres Yearly Rent,

The Patrimonial Estates belong properly to the *Polanders*, whether the Right of Succession be by Purchase, or Inheritance, and consist in Houses, Lands, Towns, Villages, Lakes, Mills, Meadows and Woods, but especially in Peasants; for a Gentleman's Riches are valu'd by the Number of his Peasants, every one of them being worth 100 *Livres* a Year to his Master. These Peasants are Slaves, and cannot possess any thing: all that they heap together belongs to their Lord, whom they cannot leave without his permission, unless they turn Priests or Fryers: But these miserable Wretches work so hard, without intermission, that they have no time to study, in order to fit themselves for admittance among the Secular or Regular Clergy, except only in the quality of Lay-Brothers, which the *Polish* Gentlemen take also care to prevent, by obliging them to Marry young,

that they may not be receiv'd into the Convents.

To settle a Peasant upon a Piece of Land, or in a Village, the Lord causes a Cottage of Wood to be built for him, and gives him Two little Horses, one Cow, some Hens, Geese and Rye to subsist upon for a Year. In the mean time he appoints a certain Piece of Ground in the Village, which the Peasant is oblig'd to Till for his Landlord, and upon which he is to maintain himself for the future; for all the Goods of the Village belong to the Lord. The settling of a Peasant costs a Gentleman nothing but the price which he pays for him; Because the other Peasants of the Village build the House, and furnish the Cattel, Poultry, and all that he gives to his new Subject, who, with his Wife and Children is oblig'd to work Four days in the Week for his Master, and to spend the other Two days in Tilling the Ground which is given him for his Subsistence.

When Harvest comes, all the Peasants of the Village go out together to cut down, and gather in the Corn for their Lord, who appoints certain Persons to Oversee their Work, and to beat 'em when they are idle. For the Punishment of the Peasants there is a sort of Pillory in every Village, on which those Miserable Wretches are sometimes forc'd to stand a whole day.

One would think the Peasants in *Poland* should reckon themselves the most unhappy Creatures in the World, to see themselves reduc'd to perpetual Slavery, and oblig'd to Work continually, without the prospect of one day of rest: But they do not so much as know that there are any Persons of their condition happier than they; for when they are young, they see their Fathers treated after the same manner: And besides, they have this comfort, that they never want Provisions. Their  
Wives

Wives are employ'd almost in nothing else than Dressing their Meat, of which they have usually 3 or 4 sorts every day for Dinner, viz. a Dish of Pease with a little Bacon, another of Oatmeal, Barley, Millet, or of the Grain which they call *Cachat*, and the rest of several sorts of Roots, which they have in abundance, and very good.

The Furniture of their Houses consists of some Earthen, or Wooden Dishes, and a Bed, which they make of Chaff and Feathers, with a sort of Coverlet over it. As for their Children, they never lye in Beds till they are Marry'd, but upon Boards round the Floor, which they use in many places in stead of an Oven, to Bake their Bread, and to Boil their little Pots of *Cachat* and Roots. These Stoves have no Chimney to let out the Smoak, so that their Huts are always full of a Thick Smoak, which has no other passage but a small Window about Four Foot from the Ground. When they go into their Cottages, they are forc'd to stoop, that they may not be stiff'd with the Smoak which is so thick above the little Window, that one cannot see the Roof; and yet 'tis impossible to go to Bed in the Winter without Stoves, so that the Gentlemen have them in their Houses as well as the Peasants; But those in Gentlemens Houses are neatly made of Burnt Earth, like fine Earthen Vessels, with a Chimney to let out the Smoak.

The Children of the Peasants, especially in *Russia*, go stark Naked, as well the Girls as the Boys, till they are Four or Five years of Age. They are never taught to go, but, as soon as they have got a little strength, the Mother sets them down at the Threshold of the Door, where they learn, by degrees, to Crawl along, and get up by themselves, and when they are dirty, the Mother Washes them in cold Water, which makes 'em so hardy, that I have seen 'em Slide Bare-footed on the Ice.

The Peasants are Cloath'd in Winter with a Wastcoat of Sheep's-Skins with the Wool; and in Summer they wear a Stuff Coat of a Chimney-Sweeper's Colour, with an ugly sort of Cap or Bonnet. Sometimes they wear Boots, but most usually Shooes, which they make of the Bark of a Tree. As for the Women, their Habits are not much different from those of the Country-Women in *France*; only their Smocks are so short, that one may sometimes see their Skin between their Wastcoat and Petticoat. In *Russia* the Women go all Summer in their Smocks with an Apron before them, the Strings of which serve them for a Girdle, but their Smocks reach to their Mid-leg.

They never Build a House in *Poland* without a Stove in each Room: Some of the Gentlemens Houses are of Wood, and others of Brick; and all so contriv'd, that they Lodge only in the Lower Rooms, except in some Houses in the Cities. The Gentlemen, by reason of the frequent Incursions of the *Tartars*, have but very little Furniture, and that of no great value: for they have only little Beds with Taffeta Curtains, and some *Turkey* Carpets. They have no more Beds than what are sufficient for their own Family; so that when one goes to Visit them, he must either carry a Bed along with him, or resolve to lye upon the Floor.

Most of their Countrey-Houses are of Wood, without Fountains, Gardens or Avenues, because the *Polish* Gentlemen take no delight in Planting Trees upon their Lands, tho'tis certain *Poland* would be a very fit Countrey for Fruit-Trees, and especially for Apples and Pears, for in some places they grow wild, and prosper to Admiration; so that they might have very good Sider, which would save them a great deal of Corn, which they

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consume in Beer; But they take very little pains either to Improve their Lands, or Increase their Revenues.

There are many Great Lakes both in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, with Mills upon them, for Grinding of Meal and *Cachat*. But I never saw any Mills for Paper, Cloath, or Leather, tho they might easily have them, and consequently save all the Money which Forreigners gain by the Importation of these Commodities. But the *Polanders* not only deserve to be Censur'd for not embellishing their Houses by Planting Trees about 'em, and Augmenting their Revenues by erecting New Mills; but are even so little mindful of their Interest, that they neglect some Advantageous Improvements which would cost 'em nothing but the Labour of their Peasants.

They have vast Fens and Morasses, and consequently might have a great deal of Pasturage, so that they might breed and bring up abundance of Cattel, which would be extremely advantageous to them; for I neither know, nor ever heard of a Country in which there is more Flesh eaten than in *Poland*, and consequently where there are more Cattel kill'd; nor is there any place in the World where they use greater quantities of Leather: for every body wears Boots, and almost all the Gentlemen have Coaches, or Waggon cover'd with Leather, which they call *Ridevans*. Nevertheless in stead of preparing the Hides and Skins of the Cattel which they kill, they suffer Strangers to carry 'em away into their own Countrys, where they Prepare them, and afterwards make the *Polanders* Pay dear for that which they Sold for a Trifle.

There are many Lakes in *Poland* and *Lithuania* so large, that it would be almost impossible to Drain them. These Lakes abound with Fish,

which the *Polanders* usually take in the Winter. When the Ice is pretty strong they make a great Hole to let down their Nets, and afterwards make several smaller holes, from space to space, that they may draw their Nets along from hole to hole, with a Rope which is fasten'd to a long Pole, till they bring them back to the first large Opening. When the two ends of the Nets are brought together, they pull them out, and bring up with them all the Fishes that happen'd to be in that space of Water through which the Nets were drawn, for they cannot leap over the Nets because of the Ice. The Fishes thrive so well in those Great Lakes, that there are an infinite number of Pikes, Four Foot long, and Carps Two and a half.

The whole Countrey of *Poland* is full of Woods, and *Lithuania* much more: And there are some Forests so large, that it would require, at least, a whole Day to pass from one side to the other. The Revenue of those Forests, which, for the most part are Firr-Trees, does not consist in the Sale of the Wood, but in the gathering in of the Honey and Wax, which they find in the Hollow Trunks of the Trees, in so great quantity, that in many Places it yields above 10000 *Livres* a Year. There is so much Honey in *Poland*, and especially in *Lithuania*, that they make a sort of Wine or *Mead* of it, which they use for their ordinary Drink. 'Tis said, that in *Muscovy*, which lies more Northwards, there is a much greater abundance of Honey, which supplies the defect of Wine and Beer, and enables 'em to subsist comfortably in their Cold Habitations.

'Tis strange that there should be such vast swarms of Bees in so cold a Countrey, since 'tis observ'd, that these Animals are more delighted with the Flowers that are found in hot Countreys, than with those that grow in a Cold Climate. It must  
be

be concluded then, that the Bees find some agreeable Liquor upon the Firr-Trees, and that they are pleas'd with that sort of Wood; which the *Polanders* have very well observ'd; for all the Hives which they have in their Gardens are made of the Hollow Trunks of Firr-Trees.

I proceed in the next place to show how the *Po-lish* Gentlemen Improve their Estates, and how they raise their Revenues. It is not the Custom in this Countrey to let Estates for Money, except only the Farms of *Beer*, *Brandy*, and the Inns which they call *Karczma*: All the other Rents are paid in *Corn*, which they send to *Dantzick* to be Sold, in *Fish*, which is bought by the Merchants, in *Horses*, *Oxen*, *Cowes*, *Calves*, *Sheep*, *Hogs*, *Geese*, *Ducks*, *Turkey Hens*, *Common Hens*, *Chickens* and *Capons*, which the Peasants very carefully bring up, not daring to eat, or sell any of 'em, or otherwise embezel them, for fear of the Rod. As for the *Butter* and *Eggs*, after the Landlord's Kitchen is sufficiently furnish'd, he bestows the rest, with the Flax which the Peasants make, upon his Wife, which she sells for Pocket-Money; for the Women in *Poland* are not suffer'd to keep the Purse; but when they want any thing they pray their Husband to give it them, embracing his Knees, and calling him, *My Patron*, or *Benefactor*. The Men do all the Business, and the Women meddle with nothing but Eating, Drinking and Dancing, there being orders given in the Kitchen to give them whatever they demand.

Upon every Mannor the Lord keeps a *Pod Starosta*, that is, an inferior Gentleman, who takes care to gather in the Cattle and other Rents from the Peasants, to send part of 'em into his Master's Kitchen, and to sell the rest. But tho' there cannot be an exact Computation made of the Revenue of Land in *Poland*, because consists almost whol-

ly in Commodities, a considerable part of which is consumed in the Landlord's House; there are Persons of Quality whose Yearly Revenue is esteem'd to amount to more than 100000 Crowns. And formerly the *Polish* Gentry were so Rich, that some Lords usually came to the *Diets* with a Train of above 1000 Men; and others, upon pressing occasions, have furnish'd the Republick with 3000 Men, rais'd at their own Charge, as did *Leo Sapieha* Chancellor of *Lithuania*, after the great Defeat of the *Polish* Army at *Pilaveze* in *Ukrania*, on the 29th of *September*, 1648.

But at present *Poland* is not so Rich, because it is not so well Peopled as formerly. Nor can it be reasonably suppos'd to be either so Rich or Populous, after it has been harrafs'd by so many Irruptions of the *Muscovites*, *Turks*, *Tartars* and *Cossacks*, who have, at several times, carry'd away an infinite number of Slaves; and after the Bloody and Expensive Wars which the Republick has maintain'd against all its Neighbours; And besides, the Plague which succeeded these Desolations, has Contributed, in a great measure, to Dispeople part of the Countrey.

### C H A P. XXIII.

#### *Of the Customs, Humour, and Inclinations of the Polanders.*

THE *Polanders* are naturally so extremely desirous of Money, that they are willing to submit to any terms to procure it. But those who are acquainted with their Temper, will never give them more than what they intend to lose; for it is not their Custom to Pay their Debts,  
nor



nor so much as to return a Civil Answer to their Creditors.

Since it may seem incredible that any Commerce can subsist among a People, who never Pay what they Borrow; it will not be improper to give an Account of the way of Lending Money in *Poland*; for Bonds and Obligations are of no use in this Countrey. Those who want Money, must either procure a Supply from the Gentlemen, Merchants or Burgesses: When one Gentleman sends Money to another, the Borrower Mortgages or makes over a Village to his Creditor, till the Money be Re-paid.

As for the Burgesses and Merchants, they never lend Money to the Gentlemen, but upon Pledges, at 14 *per cent.* Interest, as 'tis allow'd by the Laws of the Kingdoms. There is a Note, or Inventory taken of the Quantity and Kind of the Pledges, which the Borrower gives to the person who Lends the Money; and if they consist of Jewels, as for example, a Pearl-Necklace, it is Seal'd at the two ends with the Borrower's Seal. In the same Note, after both the Quantity and Value of the Jewels, or Plate that is Pawn'd, and the Sum of Money that is Lent are specify'd, the Borrower obliges himself to Pay the Money at Six Months Warning, and in the mean time to pay Interest at the rate of 14 *per Cent.* 'Tis also stipulated and agreed upon betwixt both Parties, that if the Borrower shall neglect to pay Interest for the space of Three years, the Creditor shall, in that case, have full Power to send them to *Dantzick* to be Sold: And this is the only way that the Merchants and Burgers Lend Money to the *Polanders*, for otherwise they would never be paid.

Tho 'tis certain, that the *Polanders* are passionate lovers of Money, and will leave no means unattempted to procure it; 'tis no less certain that

that they do not desire it to Purchase Lands, or to Build Fine Houses, or encrease their Revenues; but only to buy Silks, Stuffs, Furs, Fine Horses and Arms, and, above all, good *Hungarian* Wine.

The *Polish* Gentlemen are all naturally civil. They usually invite Travellers to their Houses, and Entertain them in a very kind and obliging manner. The Great Lords are very Generous and Magnificent: and, to my certain knowledge, some of them have taken into their Houses *Frenchmen*, *Italians* and *Germans*, and Maintain'd them, till they found some Employment. I know particularly, that that Chancellor *Patz* has given both Horses and Money to Strangers, who had done him no Service at all.

The *Polanders* are generally very fond of Magnificent Habits after their Mode: Most of them wear very handsom Boots, the heels of which are shod with Iron, a Furr'd Cap, and Vests that reach to their Mid-leg, and are Furred in Cold Weather. The Great Lords have them Furr'd with Sable, which is brought them from *Muscovy*, and the rest with the Skins of *Tygres*, *Leopards*, *Panthers*, &c. Some of the Fine Furs cost above 1000 Crowns, but they are only worn at *Diets*, and are kept from Father to Son.

Some, though few, are Cloathed after the *French* Fashion, and wear Linnen, Lace, Point, Perukes and Swords: for those who retain the *Polish* Habit wear no other Linnen but Shirts and Drawers, and some of them Socks. The ordinary Gentlemen, and even some of the Great Lords, cause some bruised Chaff to be put into the Feet of their Boots, which serves them for a Sole, and for Socks: But I speak only of the Gentry, for the Peasants wear no Linnen at all, unless perhaps a Shirt of Course Cloath.

The *Polanders* cut their Hair above their Ears, and Shave their Faces, leaving only one large Whisker. They walk gravely with a Pole-ax in their hand, and a Sword by their side, which they never lay aside but when they go to Bed; for they wear it even when they go to Confession, and when they Receive the Sacrament. The Sword hangs at a Thong of Leather to which their Handkerchief is fasten'd, with a Knife in a Sheath, and a small Stone, set in Silver, to Whet their Knife on; every Morning they Wash their Face and Neck with cold Water, even in the sharpest Weather. This Custom is so generally observ'd among them, that the Fathers make their Children Wash themselves as soon as they rise.

Almost all the Women of Quality Dress after the *French* Mode, especially those who frequent the Court, and even the Oldest of 'em are very careful to adorn themselves, and wear Red Clothes. They are extremely fond of Fine Clothes, Modish Silks, Laces, Points, Ribbons, Hoods, Gloves, fine Shooes, and generally every thing that is brought from *France*, which they usually buy very dear. For provided they be not oblig'd to pay ready Money, they are willing to promise whatever is demanded; so that the *French* Merchants, who always find a way to recover their Money, grow quickly Rich, for they sell Ribbons for a Crown a Yard, which cost 'em but 15 Pence at *Paris*, tho' the Ell in *Poland* is but half a *French* Ell.

The *Polanders* are so much in love with Splendor, that the Ladies never go abroad but in a Coach drawn by Six Horses, even tho' they only intend to cross the Street, and to go to a Church over against their Houses. When the Lords or Ladies go abroad at Night, they have 24 Flambeaus of White Wax carry'd before their Coach. The Ladies Trains are frequently held up by Dwarfs, who  
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are born of Fathers and Mothers of a very large stature. The Ladies are always attended by an Old Woman, whom they call *Majordome*. The Gentleman-Usher, who ought to Lead them under the Arm, is an Old Gentleman, who follows them on foot, and never goes into the Coach; but the Horses go very softly. This Custom/does not proceed from the Jealousy of the Husbands, for they neither do, nor have any reason to suspect their Wives, because the *Polish* Ladies are very Modest, and not at all Coquettes, tho they have as much Liberty as in *France*; but ordinary Women are not so nicely vertuous, especially the Maids, who think it no Scandal to their Reputation to be Unmarry'd Mothers, nor is their Frailty any hindrance to their Fortune. They usually serve as Nurses; for a Marry'd Woman, tho never so poor, will not Nurse any Child but her own.

Notwithstanding the Extream Coldness of the Climate, they are so much addicted to Bathing, that there is no Gentleman's House without a Bath. There are also Publick Baths in every Town for the Common People: The Ladies and their Daughters Bath once a Month. 'Tis an Universal Custom thro the Whole Countrey to Bath their Infants twice a Day, till they are Two years old; This is probably the Reason why the *Polanders* are not subject to Scabbiness in the Face or Head. The Children are never heard to Cry, because they are not Swath'd, but only wrapt about with Linnen Clouts, and consequently have room enough to move their Bodies; whereas in *France* they are in a manner Fetter'd with Cords; And because there are sometimes Girls to be seen in this Country, whose Stature is spoil'd, which some might attribute to the neglect of Swathing 'em in their Infancy; I shall take this occasion

to observe, that all the Men are very large and well-shap'd, and that the ordinary Girls are not subject to that inconveniency ; so that we may reasonably suppose, that the Stature of some Girls of Quality is only spoil'd by their Governesses, who put 'em in Cloathes too soon, after the *French Mode*, or because they gird them too close, and know not how to Dress them.

The *Polanders* bear the loss of their Estates, and all other Disasters, with so much Courage and Resolution, that they seem to be insensible : And as they endure their own Misfortunes with so little Concern, they have no Compassion for the Miseries of others. Their Cities being, for the most part, Built of Wood, which frequently takes Fire ; they will stand very quietly to see a House Burn, without making the least Motion to extinguish the Fire. And even there is so little Tenderness in their Tempers, that neither the Fathers take care to Ransom their Children, nor the Children their Fathers, who are carry'd away Slaves into *Tartary*. It cannot be suppos'd that such a Nation as this regards the condition of other Kingdoms : And indeed they are so far from concerning themselves with the Affairs of Forreigners ; that tho the whole Christian World were engag'd in an Universal War, they would not so much as offer their Mediation to Negotiate a Peace.

They neither learn to Ride, Fence, nor Dance in *Poland*, because they have no *Academies*. And, for this Reason the young Lords are generally much addicted to Travelling, that they may learn the Languages and Exercises that are Taught in Foreign Countreys ; Nevertheless, those who stay at home, Ride, Fence, and Dance after their own Fashion, and without constraint ; for the *Polanders* are naturally inclin'd to such Exercises, and are all passionate Lovers of Dancing and Musick.

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The very Nurfes teach the Children to Dance as soon as they begin to go, and you may frequently fee Two little Children Dancing to the Voice of a Nurfe, or Servant; and Peafants Playing upon the Violin, while they are bringing a Boat laden with Corn along the *Viftula*.

'Tis certain, that the *Polanders* would be Invincible, if they were Well-Disciplin'd, for they are fo harden'd, and enur'd to Fatigues, that they look upon the *Germans* as a foft and effeminate Nation, who are not able to endure the Toil of War, and the exceffive rigour of the Winter. The *Polifh* Army has oftentimes Encamp'd in the Snow, and particularly in the Year 1663. King *Cafimir* fet out from *Leopold* in the beginning of September, and Led His Army to the Frontiers of *Mufcovy*, where he Encamp'd all the Winter, and did not Retire till the next Spring.

Before I conclude this Chapter, I muft take notice of Two Diftempers that are peculiar to *Poland*, of which one is called the *Rofe*, and the other the *Plica*. The *Rofe* is a fort of *Eryfipela*, which chiefly breaks out in the Face. The *Polanders* Cure this Difafe by applying Powder of Chalk to the part, without Letting Blood; for they fancy that Bleeding would prove Mortal in that cafe. The *Plica* is a Twifting of the Hair, in fuch a manner, that 'tis impoffible to unravel it. Thefe Twifted Locks cannot be compar'd to any thing more fitly, than to thofe long and nafty Ropes of Hair upon fome *Spaniels*. The *Polanders* give this Account of the Original of this Diftemper: They fay, That the *Tartars* having made a Furious Ir-ruption into *Poland*, in the Year 1279, and having killed a great Number of People, they Poyfon'd their Hearts, and threw 'em into the Waters, which Infected thofe who drunk 'em with this

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Loathsome Disease, the True Cause whereof is still a Secret to *Physitians*.

Strangers generally believe, that the *Plica* is the effect of Slovenliness, and not of any Distemper : and they are confirm'd in this Opinion, because they are never troubled with it, even tho they live a long time in the Countrey ; for if their Hair begins to Twist when they fall Sick, they cause it immediately to be Cut off, which the *Polanders* dare not do, for fear of losing their Sight, which they imagin is an unavoidable consequence of Cutting off the Hair in this Distemper. Yet I have known some, whose Hair was actually Cut off without any dangerous Accident. But the People are so perswaded that the *Plica* is a Distemper, that there are some Old Women who pretend to bring it out upon Children that are troubled with Languishing Diseases, by mixing and twisting their Hair, and making their Mothers believe, that the Children are only Sick, because the *Plica* cannot break forth.

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#### CHAP. XXIV.

##### *Of the Religion of the Polanders.*

THE *Polanders* Received the Faith of Christ in the Reign of *Miecslaus*, in the Year 964. and have ever since remain'd in Subjection to the See of *Rome*, except some, who, in the last Age Embrac'd the Doctrins of *Luther* and *Calvin*. At present the *Polanders* are generally *Roman Catholics*, except in *Russia*, where there are still a considerable number of Persons who observe the Rites of the *Greek Church*; and in *Prussia*, where there are many *Lutherans*, as at *Dantzick*, *Elbing*, *Thorn*,

*Thorn*, and *Marienburg*. There were also some *Socinians* formerly, but King *John Casimir* Expell'd 'em out of the Kingdom in 1658, and oblig'd 'em to sell their Estates in Three years.

In the Reign of *Sigismund Augustus*, *Nicholas Radziwill* was the first who turned *Calvinist*, and Protected those of that Perswasion in his House at *Vilna*, where they Sung the *Psalms* Translated into the Vulgar Tongue. But that Branch of the House of *Radziwill* is now wholly Extinct, the last having left only one Daughter, who was Marry'd to the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Second Son.

The *Ecclesiasticks* in General are very much Respected in *Poland*, but the Monks, or Regular Clergy, are more esteemed than the rest, and well entertain'd every where. They Read *Homilies* in the Churches, and carry the Sacrament privately to Sick Persons, and even sometimes Bury the Dead without asking the Consent either of the Bishop or Curat. The *Mendicant Friars*, who go about Begging Alms, enter boldly to the very Closets, without Knocking at the Door.

The Monks in *Poland* are generally Rich; but they are neither Regular nor Modest, for they usually Drink in Cellars (which are the Taverns of that Country) and sometimes to that Excess, that they are not able to walk in the Streets; without fearing either to be Censur'd by their Superiors, or to give any occasion of Scandal to the People. The Fasts that are observ'd by the Monks, and by all the *Polanders* in General, consist only in Abstaining from Milk, Eggs, and boiled Fish at Night, for they may eat dry'd Fish for their Collation; and provided they Fast at that time, they imagine that they may Eat and Drink all the Day long: They Abstain from Butter, Eggs and Milk



Milk on Friday and Saturday; for they believe there is no difference betwixt Milk and Flesh.

As for the Secular Clergy, there are some of them who have not only Two Canonships, but Two Parsonages; but there are none of them who take care to perform the Duties of their Function. The Curates make the Monks Instruct their Parishioners, and leave the other Duties of their Offices to be perform'd by Vicars. The Canons are never present at the Offices, and give a poor Scholar Two pence a day to say their *hours* for them in the Quire. And the Bishops themselves are so careless of their Episcopal Functions, that they dare not Correct the Inferior Clergy.

The *Polanders* seem very Devout, and bestow considerable Gifts upon their Churches; but they are neither Liberal to the Poor, nor careful of their Sick Servants. They Pray aloud in the Church, and at the Elevation of the Sacrament at Mass they Beat themselves, and knock their Heads against the Pavement, or against the Bench on which they sit, with so much Violence, that on such occasions there is always a great Noise in the Church. The Women commonly use their Prayer-Books, with a Chaplet of Beads drawn thro' the middle of 'em. In Winter all the Ladies of Quality, and even some Men, cause a Furr'd Bag to be brought to Church, in which they put their Feet, for the Weather is extreamly Cold, especially for the Women, who have Fine thin Shooes; they wear also a little Furr'd Mantle upon their shoulders.

The Churches of *Poland* are very Fine and well-adorn'd. The *Jesuits* of *Leopold* have a Chafuble cover'd so thick with Pearls, and so heavy, that they cannot use it when they say Mass; 'tis valu'd at above 100000 *Livres*. They Sing somewhat in the *Polish* Tongue every where, especially in the Parishes at High-Mass. The *Rosary* is also daily

repeated in the same Language in all the Churches of the *Dominicans*, where the Women are seated on one side, and the Men on the other; the Men alone Singing the *Ave Maria*, and the Women alone the *Sancta Maria*. There are Monks of all Orders in *Poland*, except *Carthusians* and *Minimes*.

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## CHAP. XXV.

*Of the Administration of Justice.*

THERE are two sorts of Jurisdiction in *Poland*, *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*. The former is in the hands of the Bishops, who execute it by their Officials, from whose Judgment there lies an Appeal to the Archbishop of *Gnesna*, the Primate of the Kingdom. And besides the Authority of the Pope's Nuncio is so great, that he may Judge all Ecclesiastic Causes by Appeal.

The Civil Jurisdiction is in the hands of several sorts of Judges. The *Starosta's* hold Courts within the Extents of their Territories, and each City has a Right to give Judgment in certain Cases. Every *Palatin*, *Marshal* and *Chancellor*, has his respective Jurisdiction; The King, the Senate, and the General *Diets* determin Civil and Criminal Causes. And besides, the Nobility have Three Courts, where they give Final Judgment in Causes without further Appeal. There are Two of those Courts for the Kingdom, and one for the Dutchy. Those of the Kingdom Sit at *Peotrkow* in Lower, and *Lublin* in Upper *Poland*; and that of the Dutchy is held one Year at *Viina*, and another at *Minsk*, or at *Nowogrodeck* by turns. They are compos'd of a certain number of Gentlemen  
both

both of the Clergy and Laity, who are chosen in each *Palatinat*; the Lay-members once in Four Years, and the Ecclesiasticks every Two Years. The Judgments are given by Plurality of Voices; but, in Matters that are purely Ecclesiastical, the Number of the Ecclesiastical Judges must be equal to that of the Secular. There are also Two Courts for Affairs relating to the *Finances*, one at *Radom* in Upper *Poland*, and the other at *Vilna*.

The *Palatins* take Cognizance of nothing but such Matters as relate to the *Jews*. The *Marshals* give Final Judgment, without further Appeal, in all Causes both Civil and Criminal, relating to the Officers of the King's Household, and to the Domestick Servants of the Senators who remain with the King. The Jurisdiction of the *Marshals* extends over the Merchants, and over all Forreigners, who are scarcely able to procure Justice in this Countrey.

The *Chancellors* only determine such Causes as are brought before them by Appeal, as the Judgments of the Magistrates of Cities, and of *Palatins*, when the Difference is between a *Christian* and a *Jew*.

The Punishments of Malefactors are of several kinds: some, for Example, are Hang'd, and others Beheaded. The variety of Punishments does not proceed from the different Qualities of the Criminals, but from the difference of the Crimes. For they Hang a Robber, of what Quality soever he be, and they Behead all sorts of Persons for all other Crimes but Robbery; unless for some Enormous Villanies, which are Punish'd, by Breaking the Malefactor on the Wheel, or by Cutting off two Thongs, or Long Pieces of the Skin of his Back.

Masters have also a power to Correct and Chastise their Servants, which they do in this manner;

ner; if the Servant that is to be Punish'd be a Gentleman, they make him lye down upon his Belly on a Carpet that is spread upon the Ground, then a Man Beats him on the Back with a Cord, or Stick, giving him as many Blows, or Lashes, as the Master, who is usually present, orders; after which, he who is Beaten, embraces the Knees of him who caused him to be Beaten, and calls him his *Benefactor*. This Correction seems a little too severe; but the Humour of the People makes it Necessary.

Since I have mention'd the way of Punishing Servants who are Gentlemen, 'twill not be improper to observe, that *Polish* Gentlemen may serve as Coachmen, Grooms, Cooks, and do all the meanest Offices, without derogating from their Nobility, or rendring 'em incapable of the Highest Preferment. For I have known some of them, who, after they had been Foot-boys to some Great Lord, and others, who, after they had been Drummers to a Company of Dragoons, were advanc'd to the Dignity of Senators; And, in the General, there is nothing but a Handicraft-Trade that derogates from Nobility in this Countrey.

## CHAP. XXVI.

### Of Marriages and Funerals:

**M***arriages and Funerals* are extreamly Chargeable in *Poland*; For when a Gentleman Marries, whether he be Rich or Poor, the Wedding must last three days. The Marriage of a Waiting-Gentlewoman puts her Lady to almost the same charge, as if one of her own Daughters were Marry'd. As for the Marriages at Court of  
the

the Queen's Maids of Honour, or of the Daughters of some Great Lords; on the first and second day the King makes the Wedding-Feast, which is held in a Great Hall, where Three Tables are spread; the King and Queen sit at the first, fronting all the rest of the Hall; the Bride and Bridegroom are Seated by the Queen's side, and the Pope's Nuncio and Archbishop of *Gnesna* sit next the King: The Ambassadors are also seated at the same Table, opposite to the King and Queen; so that they are all under the Canopy of State. Yet there are some Examples to the contrary; For at the Feast which *Sigismund III.* made at *Cracow*, upon occasion of His Marriage with *Constance of Austria*, in the Year 1606, he caused the Cardinal *Maciejowski*, the Pope's Nuncio, who was nominated to the Archbishoprick of *Gnesna*, to be remov'd from under the Canopy.

The Ladies, Senators, and all the Officers, except those who are to serve the King, are seated on both sides of the other two Tables, which are very long: Before they sit down, they are all call'd over, in order, that they may take their Places according to their Rank. The Feast begins usually about Four or Five a Clock in the Afternoon, and they continue Drinking and Dancing till Two in the Morning. The Senators rise from time to time from the Table, and go before the King to Drink His Health, and do Him Obedience by bending the Knee.

Tho the Tables are cover'd with all sorts of Provisions, yet they Eat but little at those Feasts, but they Drink abundance of *Hungary Wine*, which is very Excellent; and one may say, that tho 'tis very dear, 'tis more common, and less spared than Water; and there is not a Lady at Table who has not before her a Dozen of Glasses of Wine, of all the Healths that were Drank round;

round; For their Modesty obliges 'em only to touch the Glafs with their Lips; so that they spill more Wine upon the Tables, and in the Dishes, than they Drink. After the Entertainment has lasted Five or Six hours, they begin to Dance to the Musick of several Violins, and small portable Organs. All sorts of People Dance in *Poland*, both the Old, the Young, the Poor and the Rich. The Old Senators, and the Old Ladies begin the Dance, which they do so softly and modestly, that one would think it was a Company of Monks and Nuns walking in Procession: But the Exercise grows warm by degrees, and ends, at last, with a Great Noise.

On the Second Day every one Presents the Bride with a Piece of Plate; all those Presents are made before the Queen, and the Bride who sits by her. Those who Present 'em make Harangues, which are oftentimes long and troublesome; and the Queen's Chancellor Answers them all. So that this Ceremony, which commonly does not begin till Noon, lasts sometimes till Three a Clock, after which, they begin to place themselves at the Tables.

On the Third Day, the Ceremony of the Marriage is perform'd, all the Young People Accompanying the Bridegroom and Bride to Church on Horseback. In their return they pass before the King's Pallace, the Trumpets and Kettle-drums continually Sounding from the Balconies on each side: After which, the same Train Conducts the King and the Queen, with the Bride, to the Bridegroom's House, where there is a Magnificent Entertainment prepar'd for them. After they rise from the Table they Dance; and the Ball being over, every one retires; Then the Bride begins to Weep, for 'tis the Custom of all the *Polish* Gentlemen to shed Tears on that occasion, and to  
seem

seem very much afflicted; because, otherwise, they would run the hazard of being lookt upon as Impudent and Shameless Women.

Having given an Account of the *Weddings*, I proceed to speak something of the *Funerals*, which are so Pompous and Magnificent, that they resemble the Triumph of a Living Man, rather than the Interment of the Dead.

The Corps being put into a Coffin, is carry'd upon a Chariot, drawn by Six Horses, cover'd with Black Housings. The Coffin is Cover'd with a large Pall of Black Velvet, with a Cross of Red Sattin in the middle; Six of the Domestic Servants of the Deceas'd, in Mourning Habits, hold up the Corners of the Pall. The Chariot is preceded by Priests, Monks, and a great Multitude of People with Lighted Torches of White Wax. Three Men on Horseback carry the Armour of the Deceas'd, one his Sword, the other his Lance, and the third his Dart. The Procession Marches so softly, that 'tis late before they come to the Church; where, after the Service is over, those who carry'd the Arms of the Deceas'd, enter the Church on Horseback, and, at a full Gallop, break the Arms against the Coffin, which is afterwards Interred. Then they return to the House, where a great Feast is prepar'd, and not only Drink to excess, but make the Ecclesiasticks follow their Example.

The Mourning Habits of the Men are not different from ours: but, on such occasions, the Ladies of Quality are Apparalled in coarse Black Stuff; their very Linnen is coarser than Canvas, and those of the Greatest Quality wear the coarsest Linnen and Cloath. This Habit doth not ill become Widows that are young and handfom.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Of the Diet, and Entertainments of the Polanders.*

THE *Polanders* seldom or never eat any Breakfasts, but both the Men and Women, especially the latter, usually drink in the Morning Beer boyld with Ginger, Yolks of Eggs and Sugar. They eat commonly, at their Meals, Beef and Veal, which are excellert in this Country. Their Mutton is not very good, and for that reason they usually give it to their Servants. They have generally an aversion to cold Meat. They have abundance of Gray, but no Red Partridges, and great store of Hares, but no Rabbets, which they do not look upon as an Inconveniency; for, generally speaking, a *Polander* won'd eat a Cat as soon as a Rabbet: yet they bring up some White Rabbets in their Chambers for the sake of their Furs. There are abundance of Bucks, but few Stags in *Poland*; and many wild Boars, Hogs, Capons, Hens, Chickens, Turkey Fowl, Pigeons, Ducks and Geese. There are also many wild Geese, Snipes and Ducks in the Summer, but few in Winter, because all the Lakes and Rivers in *Poland* are Frozen up in the Winter; and this is altho the Reason why we have such abundance of Wild-fowl in the Winter.

There are also in *Poland* a great many Woodcocks, most of which are about the bigness of a Capon; but there are very few so large as thoe in the Forrests of *Ardenne* and *Lorraine*: There are abundance of Pheasants and Wood-hens in *Lithuania*, and store of Bustards in *Prussia*. The



are certain Birds resembling large Sparrows, which come into those Provinces in the Winter : they are called *Snow-birds*, and are very agreeable to the taste. The *Polanders* never eat any Tame-Fowl, but what is brought in the Morning alive into the Kitchen, where 'tis kill'd for Dinner. They are great lovers of sucking-Pigs, which are very good Meat when they are Roasted; but are commonly very ill Dress'd. The greatest Lords seldom dine without a Dish of Pease and Bacon; but the Bacon is cut into slices, and laid upon the Pease. They eat all sorts of Mushrooms that grow in the Woods, and even those that grow upon Trees, which they gather, and dry, to preserve 'em. These Mushrooms are reckon'd Poisonous among us, but are as generally eaten in *Poland* as Poppy-seed, which they usually devour like Millet.

The *Polanders* never make Potage, but when they meet with any that is made by *French* Cooks they eat it with a great deal of pleasure. Their Boil'd Meat is better, and more savoury than ours, because they do not Boil it so much. Their Sauces are also extreamly different from those that are in use among us: They make a Yellow Sauce, with Saffron, a White Sauce with Cream, a Grey Sauce with Onions, and a Black Sauce with the Juice of Plums. They season all those Sauces with a great quantity of Sugar, Pepper, Cinnamon, Ginger, Cloves, Nutmeg, Olives, Capers, and Prunes, especially in the Sauce which they make for Fish, which they Dress better than the *French*. They use so much Spices, that there are some Lords who spend above 50000 *Livres* a Year in these Commodities.

They usually eat a great deal of Meat, and little Bread, tho' there grows abundance of Corn in *Poland*, especially Rye, which is much better than in *France*: They are also great lovers of Roots, which they dress well, and eat a great deal of *Chat*,

*chat*, which is a sort of Meal made of Corn, as of Barley, Millet, or Oats, or sometimes of a small Grain which they call Manna. These *Caebats* are very good when they are well Dress'd and Season'd : They eat them on Flesh-days, with Milk and Butter, and on Fasting-days with Oyl, but some begin already to dispense with this Rule, especially on Saturdays.

As there are few Fish in the *Baltic*, which is the only Sea that borders upon *Poland*, they are almost wholly destitute of Sea-fish; but that defect is abundantly supply'd by the great plenty of Fresh-water-Fish, such as *Pikes*, *Carps*, *Eels*, *Perches*, *Tenches*, *Breams*, *Trouts*, *Barbels*, *Shadds*, *Sturgeons*, *Salmons*, *Lobsters*, and *Lampreys*.

The usual Drink in *Poland* is Beer, but in *Lithuania* and *Ukrania* they commonly drink Mead, because of the numerous Swarms of Bees that are in the Forrests of those Countreys. After Meals the Gentlemen, and the Richer sort of the Burghers, drink a Glass of *Hungary* Wine, because they are of opinion, that Beer alone is too cold, and would injure their Stomachs, if not Corrected by the comfortable warmth of a Glass of Wine.

In *Lithuania* and *Ukrania* they have two sorts of Wines made of Honey, Red and White, or *Mead* and *Metheglin*; they are both pleasant Liquors, tho' they taste a little of the Wax. The Beer is very good, of an Amber-Colour, and of a brisk and poignant Sweetness, especially that of *Varka*, or that which the Gentlemen make for their private use, which is commonly much stronger than that which the Brewers make to sell.

Besides Beer and Mead, the *Polanders* and *Lithuanians* drink also *Hungary*, *Italian*, *French* and *Rhenish* Wines. The first is better and stronger than any *Spanish* Wine : 'Tis brought from

*Hungary*

*Hungary* to *Cracow*, over the *Carpathian* Mountains, in large Casks, drawn by Oxen, after which 'tis put in smaller Vessels. The best sort is sold for 12 or 15 *Livres* the *Polish* Pot, which holds about 3 Quarts, and consequently we may reasonably suppose that the Poor are forc'd to abstain from so Costly a Liquor.

The *Italian* Wine is brought to *Poland* by Land; but is not so much us'd as the former, both by reason of the great distance, and because of its Luscious Sweetness, which makes it only fit for Women.

The *French* and *Rhenish* Wines are brought by the *Baltic-Sea* to *Dantzic*. They are not only naturally weaker than *Hungary* Wine, but lose a great deal of their strength upon the Sea; for 'tis extremely difficult to Transport the New Wines in *November*, by reason of the Ice which makes the Sea impassable. As for the *Rhenish* Wine, it seldom goes farther than *Dantzic*, except a little which is spent in *Prussia*; and besides they never drink it without Sugar, because it is too sharp.

Tho the *Polish Brandy*, or *Aquavita* is made of Corn, 'tis as good and strong as that which is made of Wine; but 'tis almost only us'd by the common People, the rest only drinking it when the Weather is excessively Cold.

When the *Polanders* make a Feast, all the Guests who are Invited must bring a Knife, Fork and Spoon along with them, because it is not a Custom to lay any of these Utensils upon the Table; they Sow a piece of Linnen round the Table-Cloath, which serves for Napkins. After all the Guests are come, the Gates are shut, and are not open'd till all the Company are risen from the Table, and all the Plate is found; for if they did not use this Precaution, the Footmen would steal part of it;  
and

and this is also the reason why they lay neither Knives, Spoons, Forks, nor Napkins upon the Table.

Every Person of Quality has a Hall in his House, which they call the Banqueting-Hall, in which there is a place for a Side-Table, surrounded with Ballisters. This Side-Table, from which the Cloath is never taken off till it be very dirty, is cover'd with abundance of Plate, and over it is a place for the Musick, which is usually Compos'd of Violins and Organs. Those who are Invited to the Feast bring their Footmen with them, and as soon as they are seated at the Table, every one of them cuts off one half of his Bread, which he gives with a Plate full of Meat to his Servant, who, after he has shared it with his Comrade, stands behind his Master and eats it. If the Master calls twice for a Glas of Wine, or other Liquor, the Servant brings as much more, and drinks in the same Glas with his Master without rinsing it. Tho' there is a great deal of Meat brought to the Table, there is nothing carry'd back to the Kitchen, not even of the last Course; for the Servants seize upon all the Meat, and their Ladies make each of them carry a Napkin to bring away the Dry Sweet-meats, or Fruits that are brought to the Table. After they have done Eating they usually go to Dance.

These People, at least the Genteeler sort, eat very decently; for they never touch the Meat with their hands, and are so skilful in Carving, that they hold a Partridge upon the end of their Fork and cut it in Six pieces; But while they are at Table, they think of nothing but Eating; for the Gate is shut, and is never open'd till after Dinner or Supper.

The King usually Eats only with the Queen, or with some Great Lord; But when he Hunts, or Travels

Travels upon the Road, he causes all the Gentlemen, even those who serve in his Chamber, to sit down at Table with him; for if he shou'd use them otherwise, or give 'em the least occasion to think that he slighted them, he wou'd run the hazard of incurring the hatred of all the Nobility. For an Instance of which, I shall only observe, that *Sigismond* of *Luxemburg*, whom *Lewis* King of *Poland* and *Hungary*, his Father-in-Law, had Chosen for his Successor, was Excluded from the Crown, meerly because he slighted the Gentlemen of *Poland*, and would not make them Eat with him.

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C H A P. XXVIII.

*Of the way of Travelling in Poland.*

THERE are no Inns in *Poland*, where one may Lodge conveniently, and be Accommodated with a Bed. The only Houses of Entertainment are places built of Wood, which they call *Karczma*, where Travellers are oblig'd to Lodge, with the Horses, Cows and Hogs, in a long Stable made of Boards, ill joyn'd, and Thatch'd with Straw; 'Tis true, there is a Chamber at the end of it, with a Stove, but 'tis impossible for one to Lodge in it in the Summer, because of the Flies, Fleas, Bugs, and the Noisome Smell of the place, for they never open the Windows, even in the hottest Weather; so that Strangers chuse rather to lye in the Stables in the Summer, than in the Chamber. And besides, the *Gospodarz*, or Inn-keeper Lodges in that Room with his Children and whole Family, and usually keeps a Hoghead of  
stinking

stinking Cabbage, the smell of which is extremely offensive to Strangers, tho' the People of the Country, who are accusom'd to such perfumes, are not incommoded by it.

Those who have occasion to Travel in the Summer, may avoid part of these Inconveniencies by Lying in a Barn upon fresh Straw; for the *Gospodarz* gathers and Locks up every Morning the Straw which was given at Night to those who Lodged in the Stable or Chamber, in order to reserve it for those who shaall come to Lodge after them.

When a Forreigner is oblig'd to Travel in *Poland*, he ought to furnish himself with a Calash drawn by Two Horses, a Bed made of a Thin Quilt, a Small Feather-bed, a Pair of Sheets, a Bolster, a Coverlet, and an empty Straw-bed to wrap about the rest of the Clothes. All this Baggage is put into a Sack or Bag of Serge, which serves for a Seat to him that Travels in the Calash. He must also provide a small Case of six or eight Bottles fill'd with Beer, Wine, or Brandy, and a Basket for Bread, Boiled Meat and Candles, without forgetting Oates for the Horses, and Grease for the Wheels of the Calash. And besides, he must remember to renew his Provisions in every City, for there is little or nothing to be had in the Countrey Inns, and the Cities are very remote from one another.

After one is thus fitted out, the Expence of his Journey is very inconsiderable, for his Lodging costs him nothing, and I believe the Reason why the Inns are so poorly furnish'd, is, because the Gentlemen never pay for what they have. 'Tis no wonder then that the *Gospodarz* deny them every thing, and usually Salute 'em with this Complement, *Niemazs*, that is, *There is none*: nevertheless, they freely give what they have to  
Stran-

Strangers ; But since there are few Travellers, the Inn-keepers make no Provision for them ; So that they are oblig'd to go to the *Dvour*, or the Lord of the Village's House for what they want.

The whole Countrey of *Poland* is Plain, without Stones, or Hills, and consequently very convenient for Travelling in a Calash with Two Horses : There are several *Polanders* who have no Coachman, and drive their own Calashes, so that they spend very little upon the Road, especially in Summer ; because when they arrive at the *Karczma*, they put their Horses to Grass, and make the *Gospodarz* give them a little Hay, which he is very unwilling to do, because he is always afraid that he shall never be Paid. Others Travel on Horseback, and carry along with them a Small Sticked Quilt to Lye upon, being about an Inch thick, and a Foot and a half broad, which they fold double, and lay it under the Saddle ; and when they arrive at the Inn, they give the *Gospodarz* Money to bring them some Brown Bread, Beer, and a little Oates ; so that all the Charge for the Lodging of a *Polish* Gentleman, and of his Horse, does not often amount to above 5 or 6 *Gros*, which are worth no more than Two pence. And consequently that which is so Incommodious to Strangers, is very Convenient for those of the Countrey, because they can Travel 100 Leagues on Horseback, without spending above 50 Pence.

As for the Lords and Ladies, they Travel alwayes in Coaches, and carry Waggons along with them, with Provisions and Beds for themselves and their Women ; but their Attendants who follow 'em on Horseback, are forc'd to content themselves with such Lodgings as I describ'd before. I must not forget to intimate, that a Traveller ought to be very careful in passing over the Bridges, because they are generally bad, and the  
*Polanders*

*Polanders* take no care to keep them in Repair.

Those who Travel in Winter ought to provide a sufficient quantity of Brandy, and a Furr'd Bag to put their Feet into. For 'tis so Cold in *Poland*, that those who are in a Coach, Wagon, or Calash, cannot otherwise endure it: and since the Lakes and Rivers are so Frozen, that they easily Travel upon the Ice. They must take care, when the Earth is cover'd with Snow, to procure a Sledge, upon which they must place the Coach or Calash, and draw the Sledge with the Horses.

Travellers are very much incommoded in Winter, especially on Holy-dayes, for the Cold is so piercing, that 'tis impossible to be in a Chamber without a Stove in it: And besides, on such solemn occasions, all the Peasants of the Village, who usually drink nothing but Water, meet together to Carouse with Beer and Brandy, and then Sing and Dance all Night, so that the weary Traveller cannot so much as shut his eyes.

I have said enough to convince the Reader, that the manner of Travelling in *Poland* is extremely Inconvenient to Strangers. As for the Native *Polanders*, who Travel on Horseback in the Winter, they have great Boots, into which they put Chaff, or chopp'd Straw, to keep their Feet warm, and before they Mount their Horses they drink a large Draught of Brandy to preserve 'em from the Cold. The Coachmen use the same precaution from the Cold, for otherwise they could never endure the Sharpness of the Weather, which is so excessively violent, that when a Man Travels with his Face expos'd to the Air, his Nose sometimes Freezes. Those who have the Misfortune to meet with such a Disaster, must apply Snow to the part, and carefully avoid entering into a Room where in there is a Stove, or into any warm place, for  
other-



otherwise they would run the hazard of losing their Nose.

There is no Travelling by Post in *Poland*, tho' there are Posts for Carrying Letters and Pacquets. This Custom was first establish'd by Order of the Republick, in the Reign of *Vladislaus IV. Anno 1647*. For before that time the King's Orders were carry'd by Gentlemen of the Court, who oblig'd the *Starosta's* to furnish 'em with Horses and Provisions.

## CHAP. XXIX.

## Of the Polish COINS.

THE Pieces of *Gold* which pass Currently in *Poland* are *Ducats*, which are worth 2 *French Crowns*, or 2 *German Rix Dollars*, or 7 *Livres* of *Dantzick Money*, or 12 *Livres* of the Currant Money of *Poland*, that is in *Chelons*. A *Chelon* is a piece of Copper, smaller than a *French Denier*; 3 *Chelons* make a *Polish Gros*, and 3 *Gros* 2 Pence of the Countrey Money. So that to make up these 2 Pence, which are not worth above one of our Pennys, there must be 9 *Chelons*, which are not worth, and weigh no more than 2 *English Farthings*, whereby one may easily judge how much the Countrey is Ruin'd by so base a Coyn, which was first Introduc'd in a pressing exigency, to satisfy the Army which had Confederated for want of their Pay.

The Introducing of base Money into *Poland* is no new thing, as it appears by that which was Coyn'd by the Officers of *Casimir IV.* and after-

wards occasion'd a Complaint to the *Diet* held at *Peortrkow*, in 1459. For at that time the Kings had the Privilege of Coyning the Money, and the first who yielded it up to the Republick was *Sigismond III.* in the Year 1632.

There is another Base Coyn in *Poland*, call'd *Tinfe*, which was also brought into the Kingdom in the Year 1663, to pay the Confederated Army. The *Tinfe* which is a little larger than a *French Fifteen pence*, is of Silver, of a Base Allay. 'Tis worth 30 *Gros* of *Chelons*, which make 20 *Pence* of *Poland*, or 10 Common *Pence*.

Besides the *Tinfes*, there is another sort of Money call'd *Choustack*, which is also a Piece of Silver of Base Allay, and less than a *French Sou*: 'Tis worth 10 *Gros* of *Poland*, so that 3 of 'em make a *Tinfe*. These Base Coyns do not pass so currently at *Dantzick*, nor in any part of *Prussia*; for the *Tinfes* are not worth above 18 *Gros*, and the *Choustacks* Six *Gros*, of *Dantzick* Money, because the *Chelons* of *Dantzick* are worth more than those of *Poland*, which do not go at all there.

The Money of *Dantzick* consists in *Ducats* of Gold, *Ourts*, *Choustagues*, and *Chelons*; The *Ducat*, as I Intimated before, is worth 2 *Rix Dollars*, or 2 *French Crowns*. An *Ourt* is a Silver Coin of the bigness of a *French Piece* of *Fifteen Pence*, and is worth 18 *Gros* of *Dantzick*, or 30 *Gros* of *Polish Money*. A *Choustaque* is worth 6 *Gros* of *Dantzick*, or 10 *Gros* of *Polish Money*; and there must be 3 *Chelons* *Dantzick* to make a *Gros*: Yet 18 *Gros* of *Dantzick Chelons* make 30 *Gros* of *Polish Chelons*; Thus a *Tinfe*, which is worth 30 *Gros* of *Polish Chelons*, is worth but 18 *Gros* of *Dantzick Chelons*. The *Ducat* which is worth 12 *Francs* of *Polish Chelons*, is worth but 7 *Francs* of *Currant Money* of *Dantzick*. Five *Choustagues*, or an *Ourt* and 2 *Choustagues*

*Choustaques* make a *Livre* of *Dantzick* Money, because 5 *Choustaques* make 30 *Gros*, and 30 *Gros* make 20 *Pence*. This difference in the value of the Coins ought to be heedfully observ'd by Strangers, who have occasion to pass through *Dantzick*, because the Bankers take all opportunities to Impose upon 'em.

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An *APPENDIX*,  
 CONTAINING  
 A Chronological Abridgment  
 Of the HISTORY of  
**P O L A N D;**  
 Some Remarks upon the  
*Government* of that *Kingdom*,  
 And the *ABDICATION* of  
**K. JOHN CASIMIR:**  
 And an Account  
 Of the Present State of *SOCINIANISM* in  
 that *C O U N T R E Y*.

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**Lechus.**

*An. Dom.*  
 550.

**T**HE *Polish* Historians ascribe the Foundation of their Monarchy to *Lechus*; and some of 'em think, that the *Poles*, or *Polanders*, were first call'd *Polachs*, from the Name of this Prince. He Built the City of *Gnesna*, and made it the Place of his Residence.

After the Death of *Lechus*, the Government of the Kingdom was committed to Twelve *Palatines*.

**Cracus.**

An. D.

**Cracus.**

700. He Built *Cracom*, and transferr'd the Court, or Residence of the Prince, from *Gnesna* to that City.

**Lechus II.**

He Assassinated his Father *Cracus* in a Wood, and gave out, That he was Torn in pieces by a Bear.

**QUEEN Uenda.**

750. A Princess equally famous for her Beauty and Valor.

After her Death the Kingdom was again Govern'd by Twelve *Palatines*.

**Pyrmistaus, or Lescus I.**

760. A Person of mean Birth, but of extraordinary Courage and Wisdom. He was made Prince, or Duke of *Poland* with the Unanimous Consent of all the Estates of the Nation, in consideration of the Important Services he had done to his Countrey, and particularly in the War against the *Huns*.

**Lesco II. Surnam'd the Black.**

804. He is said to have Assisted *Attila* in his Wars against the *Romans*.

**Lesco III.**

810. The Son and Successor of *Lesco II.* He was also an Enemy to the *Romans*.

**Popiel I.**

815. A Debauch'd and Effeminate Prince.

*An. D.* **Dopiel II.**

830. Succeeded his Father, and Imitated his Example. He was Eaten up by Mice.

**Diastus.**

842. He was advanc'd from the Plow to the Throne, in consideration of his Justice and Integrity.

**Semobitus, or Ziemonitus.**

861. He defeated the *Vandals*, and Conquer'd several Countries on the Coast of the *Baltic Sea*.

**Lesco IV.**

892. He Concluded a Peace with all his Neighbours.

**Semistaus, or Ziemomistaus.**

913. He maintain'd the Peace which his Predecessor had establish'd.

**Mesco, or Miecistaus.**

964. He was Born Blind, but receiv'd his Sight during his Father's Life; who, upon this occasion, consulting those, who pretended to foretel things to come, was inform'd, that his Son should be remarkable for Piety. He was the first Duke, or Prince of *Poland*, who embrac'd the *Christian Religion*.

**Boleslaus I. Surnam'd Chrobri.**

999. He laid aside the Title of *Duke* with which his Predecessors had contented themselves, and was Solemnly stil'd King of *Poland*, and Friend and Ally of the Roman Empire, by *Otho III.* *An. 1001.* He subdu'd the *Bobemians*, *Moravians*, *Silesians*, *Prussians*, and *Pomeranians*.

**Mesco, or Miecistaus II.**

1025. A Lazy and Effeminate Prince. Under his

his Reign the *Bohemians* and *Moravians* Revolted from the Crown of *Poland*.

*An. D.*

**Casimir I.**

1041. He was Dethron'd, and forc'd to enter into a Cloister: but afterwards rais'd an Army, and defeated the Tyrant who had Usurp'd the Crown.

**Boleslaus II. Surnam'd the Bold.**

1059. He Defeated the *Huns*, and other *Scythian* Nations, and subdu'd *Moravia*: but notwithstanding all the Glory of his Victories, his Memory is Infamous in History. He fell in Love with a *Mare*, and Barbarously Murder'd the Bishop *Stanislaus*, who reprov'd him for his Brutish and Unnatural Lust. And for these Detestable Crimes, both he and his Successors were depriv'd of the Regal Dignity. He was expell'd out of the Kingdom, and Torn in Pieces by Dogs.

**Mladislaus I. Surnam'd Hermannus.**

1082. A Warlike and Just Prince.

**Boleslaus III. Surnam'd Triboussus.**

1103. He assisted the *Hungarians* against the *Romans*, and was very Powerful at Sea.

**Mladislaus II.**

1146. He endeavour'd to Oppress his Brothers, but was at last Defeated, and Expell'd out of the Kingdom.

**Boleslaus IV. Surnam'd Crispus.**

1146. He made War with the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*.

*An. D.* **Miecislavus III.** Surnam'd the **Aged.**

1174. He was Depos'd for Oppressing the People with Exorbitant Impositions.

### **Casimir II.**

1178. Succeeds his Brother, abrogates the Unjust Laws that were establish'd by his Predecessors, and Frees the People from Tyrannical Impositions.

### **Lesko V.** Surnam'd the **White.**

1195. He was Attack'd by his Unkle *Miecislavus* the Aged, and defended himself with various success, till he was at last surpriz'd as he was Bathing himself, and thrust thro' with a Spear. During the Turbulent Reign of this Prince, the Countrey was miserably harass'd, and the Sovereign Power was, for some time, assum'd by *Miecislavus*, and afterwards by *Uladislaus Lasconogus*.

### **Boleslaus V.** Surnam'd the **Chast.**

1226. In his time the *Tartars* made a terrible Havock in *Poland*.

### **Lesko VI.** Surnam'd the **Black.**

1279. He was Assisted by the Knights of the *Teutonic Order*, against *Conrade*, who had besieg'd *Cracow*.

### **Premislaus II.**

1295. He Reassum'd the Regal Title by the Advice of the Nobility, and was Crown'd by *James* Arch-bishop of *Gnesna*. He undertook an Expedition against the *Bohemians*, but was surpriz'd and kill'd in his Camp, in the First Year of his Reign.

### **Wenceslaus**

1296. The King of *Bohemia* obtain'd the Crown of *Poland*: he defeated the *Hungarians*, and fought against the Emperor *Albert*.

*Elia*



**An. D. Vladislaus III. Surnam'd Lodovicus.**

1305. He was assisted in his Wars by the *Lithuanians*.

**Casimir III. Surnam'd the Great.**

1333. A Just and Peaceful Prince. He freed the Kingdom from Robbers, who, during the late Disorders, had made the Ways Unpassable, and Establish'd New Laws to suppress the Insolence of the Soldiers. He entertain'd four Kings at a Splendid Feast, *viz.* the Kings of *Hungary*, *Cyprus*, *Denmark*, and of the *Romans*; and gave his Niece in Marriage to the last.

**Lewis**

1370. King of *Hungary* is Chosen King of *Poland*. He Routed the *Lithuanians* in a Memorable Battle.

**Vladislaus IV. or II. call'd Jagello.**

1386. This Prince, who was Duke of *Lithuania*, and a Pagan, Marry'd *Hedwige* the Daughter of King *Lewis*, and embrac'd the *Christian Religion*. He United the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania* to the Crown of *Poland*, and Extirpated *Paganism* out of that Countrey. He obtain'd a Great Victory over the *Teutonic Knights* in *Prussia*.

**Vladislaus V. or III.**

1434. He was Chosen King of *Hungary*, and was kill'd by the *Turks* in the Battle of *Varna*.

**Casimir IV. Surnam'd the Great.**

1447. He took several Towns from the *Teutonic Knights*.

**John Albert.**

1492. He dy'd as he was making Preparations for a War against the *Turks*.

**Alexander**

An. D.

**Alexander.**

1501. This Prince was successful in his Wars against the *Moscovites* and *Tartars*.

**Sigismund I.**

1507. He Defeated the *Muscovites*, *Tartars* and *Hungarians*, and Subdu'd *Prussia*.

**Sigismund II. Surnam'd Augustus.**

1548. This was the last King of the Race of *Vladislaus Jagellon*.

**Henry of Valois.**

1574. He was Chosen King of *Poland* by the Intrigues of the *French*; and Four Months after his Accession to the Crown retir'd privately from *Poland*, upon the News of the Death of his Brother *Charles IX.* whom he Succeeded in *France*.

**Stephen Bathori, Prince of Transilvania.**

1576. A Wise, Brave and Victorious Prince. His Virtues were celebrated at his Death, in the following *Elogy*.

*In Templo, plusquam Sacerdos.*

*In Re-publica, plusquam Rex.*

*In Sententia dicenda, plusquam Senator.*

*In Judicio plusquam Jurisconsultus.*

*In Exercitu plusquam Imperator.*

*In Acie plusquam Miles.*

*In adversis perferendis, injuriisque condonandis, plusquam Vir.*

*In publica libertate tuenda, plusquam Civis.*

*In Amicitia colenda, plusquam Amicus.*

*In Convictu, plusquam familiaris.*

*In Venatione, ferisque domandis, plusquam Leo.*

*In tota reliqua Vita, plusquam Philosophus.*

**Sigismund**

*An. D.*      **Sigismund III.**

1587. The Son of *John* King of *Sweden*, by *Catherine* Daughter to *Sigismund I.* having renounc'd the Protestant Religion, was chosen King of *Poland* by the unanimous consent of the Nobility. He order'd *Maximilian* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, whom the Crown-General *Zamoski* had defeated, to be bound with Golden-fetters, and carry'd to *Zamosch*, where he kept him Prisoner two years.

**Vladislaus VI, or IV.**

The Son and Successor of *Sigismund*. He had the courage to encounter an Army of 200000 *Muscovites* with 50000 Men, and routed 'em entirely. After this Memorable and Important Victory, he took the City of *Moscow*, and return'd in Triumph to *Warsaw*, with Two *Czars*, the *Patriarch*, the *Crown*, and 500 Wagons loaden with rich Spoils. He defeated the Grand Signior *Osman*, and pursu'd him almost as far as *Constantinople*. Afterwards, he was so animated with an Imprudent Zeal for the propagating of Religion, that he resolv'd to undertake an Expedition to the Holy-Land, and dy'd for grief, because the *Polanders* refus'd to raise Subsidies to enable him to prosecute that design. After his Death the Kingdom was harrafs'd by the *Cossacks*, who were principally incens'd against the *Jews* and *Jesuits*.

**John Casimir,**

Who was formerly a *Jesuit* and a *Cardinal*, was Elected King after his Brother *Vladislaus*, and obtain'd a Dispensation from the Pope to Marry his Widow. He defeated the *Cossacks* in a doubtful and uncertain Battle near *Beresieczko* in *Russia*. Having by this Victory curb'd that Factious People, and secur'd the Quiet of the Kindom, he began to  
indulge

indulge himself in his Pleasures. He Banish'd the Vice-Chancellor of the Crown, after he had Debauch'd his Wife; and that Injur'd Officer returning to *Sweden*, perswaded that Prince to Invade *Poland*, which he did with so great success, that *Casimir* was entirely dispossess'd. But he was afterwards recall'd even by those who joyn'd with his Enemies, and after several Battles oblig'd the King of *Sweden* to make a Peace. At last, by the perswasion of his Queen, that he might make way for the Prince of *Conde* to Succeed him, he Abdicated the Government, and retir'd to *France*, where he was made Abbot of *St. Germans*.

### **Michael.**

After *Casimir's* Abdication, several Intrigues were made by the Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Newburg* and *York*, and the Prince of *Conde*, who stood Candidates for the Crown. At that time the Duke of *York* profess'd the *Protestant Religion*; but when that was objected against him by the Nobility, a certain Jesuite, who was employ'd to manage his Interest, declar'd openly before the Senate of *Poland*, that he was a *Roman-Catholic*. At last, contrary to all expectation, the Election was determin'd in favour of *Michael Coributh Wisnowieczki*, who was descended of the most ancient Family of the Dukes of *Lithuania*. This Prince dy'd at *Warsaw* about a year after his Coronation; and 'tis commonly believ'd that he was Poyson'd by a certain Priest. 'Twas observ'd that when the General *Sobieski*, afterwards Chosen King, came to see him in his Coffin, the Nose of the Deceas'd Prince began to Bleed as soon as he enter'd the Room.

### **John Sobieski.**

This Prince was descended of a very Noble and Ancient Family in the Palatinate of *Lublin*. He was

was the younger Son of *Sobieski* *Castellan* of *Cracow*, by a Daughter of *Stanislas Zolkiewski*, Great General of the Crown. He was made Great Marshal of the Crown *August. 24. 1665*, Great General of the Kingdom in 1667, and Great Master of the King's Household, Palatin of *Cracow*, &c. He retook 60 Cities from the Rebel-Cossacks in *Ukrania*. In 1667. he defended *Podhais* against the *Tartars*, and two years after took from them and the *Cossacks* the whole Palatinate of *Braclaw* in Lower *Podolia*. In 1673. he obtain'd a Memorable Victory over the *Turks* at *Choczim* on the *Niester*, where 8000 *Janizaries*, and 20000 *Spahis* were kill'd. He was Chosen King of *Poland*, *May 10th, 1674*, and made two Campaigns against the *Turks* before he was Crown'd. But that which will for ever perpetuate the Honour of his Memory, is that Glorious and Important Action which he perform'd in 1683, when he Rais'd the Siege of *Vienna*. The following Panegyrical Character of that Prince was made upon that occasion.

JOANNI III.

**D**ominatione, Polonico, Lithuanico;  
 Liberatione, Austriaco, Pannonico;  
 Prostitutione, Ottomanico, Thracio:  
 Religione, Christianissimo;  
 Pietate, Catholico;  
 Zelo, Apostolico:  
 Inter Duces, pugnacissimo;  
 Inter Reges, sapientissimo;  
 Inter Imperatores, Augustissimo:  
 Cui  
 Gloria militaris Regna peperit,  
 Clementia stabilivit,  
 Virtus perennavit:

Qui

Qui

Raro pietatis & constantiæ exemplo, propria deferens,  
aliena defendens,

Docuit quo pacto sacra fœderis jura  
Jungantur, custodiantur & compleantur,  
Ottomani am lunam fulgentissimo crucis vexillo eter-  
nam Eclypsim minitantem,

Adeo prospere feliciterque finibus extirpavit,

Ut unum Idemq; fuerit

Venisse, Vidisse & Vicisse.

Igitur,

Inter innumeros Christiani Orbis plausus,

Inter vindicatam Religionis & Imperii latitiam,

Inter cruentæ lunæ extrema deliquia,

Agnoscant Præsentes,

Credant Posterì,

Non tantum enascenti Evangelio, quo propagaretur,

Sed & adulto ne profigaretur,

Utrobiq; a Deo missum fuisse hominem,

Cui Nomen erat

JOANNES.

He Marry'd the Lady *Mary de la Grange*, the Daugh-  
ter of the Marquis (now Cardinal) *d' Arquier*,  
and Widow of Prince *Zamoiski*. He died June 17.  
1696, being seiz'd with a Fit of an *Apoplexy*, after  
a long Indisposition.

SOME

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SOME  
REMARKS  
UPON THE  
GOVERNMENT  
OF  
POLAND.

**T**HIS Worthy Observation, as to the Election of a King in *Poland*, that whereas the Nobility and Gentry are the Keepers Preservers and Defendors of the Liberty and Laws of the Country: Now for fear of a Change in the Government, as has happen'd in *France*, *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Italy*, where the Nobility, having been corrupted and brib'd with Honours, and other Rewards by the Kings, have by degrees remitted from time to time some of their Rights and Immunities, ill at last they have fool'd themselves out of their Freedom, into a Slavish Dependence on the Court; the Republick of *Poland*, warn'd by those Examples, to avoid such a Fate, has made a Law, That the Election of a King must be *Nemine Contradi-cente*. An Instance of this may be given in the Election of King *Vladislaus* the Fourth, a most Warlike

Warlike Prince, who was Chosen King of *Poland* (in consideration of the great Services he had done the Common-wealth) with the unanimous Consent of the Whole Nobility, excepting only one Deputy, who made a Solemn Protestation against the Votes of all the Diet; yet the said Prince could not be Crown'd without the Consent of the said Deputy; Who being Ask'd why he thus Dissented? Answer'd; That he did it, that by this means the Privileges of the Nobility might be safe and lodg'd within his Power, tho all the rest of the Nobility were corrupted. Having said this, and caused his Protestation to be enter'd into the Records and Archives of the Kingdom, he presently consented with the rest to the Election of *Vladislaus* the Fourth.

The *Polish* Nobility being endow'd with so many Privileges, and the Deputies having always a free Vote, the Aristocratical State of *Poland* cannot well be chang'd by any of the Kings of *Poland* into an Absolute Monarchy: For, whosoever offers to do this, is declar'd by the Senate to be Perjur'd, and no more a King; which appears by the late King *John* the Third's Oath in *Harnoc*.

Besides, the Nobility uses immediately to complain in the open Senate, of the Tyranny of those that attempt such Innovations; as did a certain Deputy out of the Palatinate of *Poznan*. King *Stephen Bathori*, after many Victories which he gain'd, and several Provinces with which he enlarg'd the Kingdom of *Poland*, began at last to endeavour to make himself Absolute Monarch of *Poland*; whereupon this Deputy exprest himself in a Speech with so much Freedom, Boldness and Vehemence, that the King, Ambitious and Passionate in his Nature, not being able to let the Deputy run on any longer upon that Topic, interrupted him in these words, *Hold your Tongue you Rascal*. To which



which the Deputy made Answer, *I am no Rascal, but a Gentleman of Poland, an Elector of Kings, and a Deposer of Tyrants.* Whereupon the King said to him, *If I were not a King——* And the Deputy Answer'd, *If you were not——* By which Imperfect Reply the Deputy hinted to the King, that he did not want Courage to engage with him hand to hand for Liberty, if he had not been check'd by his Respect for the Majesty of Kings.

The King afterwards having buried all His Resentments, advanc'd him to the Highest Dignities; nor did he believe that this had any ways lessen'd His Majesty: on the contrary, he always esteem'd him one of the Best Patriots and Lovers of his Country.

If any of the Kings of *Poland* aim at Arbitrary Government, or Act contrary to the Religion and Laws of the Country, he is immediately Depos'd, or forc'd to Abdicate the Throne. The Form which King *Casimire* us'd in His Abdication, is as follows.

WE make known and Declare to all the World, that being sensible of our Weakness which grows daily upon us with our Age, we are unable any longer to bear up under the Burden of so great Weight as the Government of this State is. Wherefore we voluntarily, and of our own accord, have resolv'd upon Abdicating the Throne, that we might spend the remainder of our declining Life quietly and in private, and in preparing for a better Life that never ends. For this reason having call'd a full Senate at *Warsaw* on the Twelfth of June in this present Year, we open'd our Mind to our Senators and Counsellors. Who being struck with the Greatness and Novelty of the Affair, and reverencing the Laws of their Country, and referring the Consideration of the whole matter to all the

Q

Kingdom,

Kingdom, we accordingly appointed a General Diet of all the Orders of our Kingdom, to be held on the Six and Twentieth day of August, and at the first opening of the Diet made known our Intention of Abdicating the Throne.

We have had Experience of the Love and Affection of our Loyal Citizens and Subjects, who bearing a Grateful Memory of the Deserts and Good Actions of our most Serene Predecessors; and paying a Deference to the Great Cares, Troubles, and Dangers we underwent for Twenty Years together in Various Turns of Fortune, in so many Camps, and in so many Diets, endeavour'd, by importunate Intreaties and earnest Requests to keep us upon the Throne. But forasmuch as we constantly persisted in our Resolution, it was agreed that we should make our Abdication, or Resignation of the Polish Crown in a Real and Solemn Manner. Upon Mature and Serious Deliberation, and by the Consent of all Orders of the State, we being in full soundness of Body and Mind, do freely, and without constraint Abdicate, from this time and for ever the Kingdom of Poland, the Great Duchy of Lithuania, and the Principalities thereunto annex'd. We restore, in full form, into the hands of the Senate, of the Marshals, and of the State, our Regal Dignity, and whatsoever else of Ancient Right does belong to the Kings of Poland, and the Great Dukes of Lithuania. We Absolve all the States and Orders, and every one of our Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance taken to us; and we release them from the Obligation of Homage and Fealty. The Duke of Prussia, as to what concerns us only, we declare free from all Obligation due to us, upon the account of any Contract made for the Dukedom of Prussia, and upon the account of any Right of Fealty for Bitovia, and Lawenburgh; and the Duke of Kurland we likewise declare freed from Homage, and all other Obligations whatsoever. The Authentick and Original Grant

Grant of our Election, made in the Year 1648, We Restore, Cancel, and Annul, without pretending to claim any or the least Right of Sovereignty to our selves, or any of our Heirs within the Kingdom of Poland, the Great Dukedom of Lithuania, and the Principalities thereunto annex'd. By which Abdication, or Resignation of the Regal Power, rightly and lawfully made, and ratify'd by these Presents, it shall be, and is, within the Power and Authority of the most Reverend Father in Christ the Arch-bishop of Gnesna, Primate of Poland, and Chief Minister of State, to declare the Throne Vacant, and to perform all that of Right and Custom does belong to the Arch-bishop of Gnesna during the Interregnum. And the States of the Kingdom are empower'd to proceed to the Election of a New King, according to the Laws and Customs of Poland. And we further Promise, that we will by no means hinder it from being a very Free Election; that we will not promote the Interest of any Candidate; and that during the time of the Election, we will remove and abide at a distance from the Place of Election. In Testimony and Confirmation thereof we have commanded these our Letters Patents to be Published under the Royal Seal. Dated at Warsaw at the General Diet of the Kingdom, Sept. 16.

This Solemn Abdication made by King Casimire was afterwards Publish'd by the Senate of Poland: The Substance of which I thought fit to Insert here, that so the Abdication and Vacancy of the Throne, after the Departure of King James II. Publish'd by the Parliament of England, might not seem a Novelty: and it is as follows.

WE the Senate and Officers both of Church and State within the Kingdom of Poland, and the Great Dutchy of Lithuania; and the Marshals of both Countries being Assembled in the Diet, do manifest and Declare: That after the Examples of our Predecessors, who esteem'd nothing more decent, nothing more worthy to be transmitted to Posterity than the Respect they paid their Princes, and have handed down to us the Esteem they had for them; We have always us'd our Endeavours to Maintain and Increase the Good Will and Reputation of our Princes. To the Vigorous Maintenance whereof, not only our Honourable Emulation of our Ancestor's Virtues, not only the Obligation and Gratitude we owe to the Royal Race of Jagello, which for almost Three hundred years together has Govern'd us so Auspiciously, did excite us: But the Extraordinary Endowments of His Present Majesty, who has Govern'd our State with the same Fortune and Reputation as His Greatest Predecessors, for the space of Twenty years, attract both our Veneration and Admiration. He was always ready to undertake Noble Designs; to endure the Heat of Summer, and the Cold of Winter; to be vigilant in Campaigns, to suffer hunger and thirst, to lye on the Cold Ground, to spend sleepless Nights, and as often as there was necessity, or occasion, hazarded his own Life for his Subjects Safety; He was famous in the Arts both of Peace and War, and gain'd an especial Esteem for his Clemency. Whereupon we interpos'd the weighty Authority of the most Illustrious Senate, the humble Requests of the Knights of both Countries, the Intreaties of the whole Republick, and the Desires of several Princes: Lastly, We Objected to him the Prohibitions of the Laws, and the Ties of his Oath. But when all these Motives could not prevail, nor alter the unshaken Mind of His Sacred Majesty from His Thoughts of Eternity, we were at last forc'd to yield

to the Weight of our Fates, and no longer to attempt to remove His Majesty from His Resolution. And forasmuch as His Sacred Majesty has Issu'd forth His Letters Patent, which we had design'd for a Pledge of our Constant and Perpetual Fidelity; and has added another more particular one, whereby he Releases us and all his Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance, and from all other Obligations: We likewise on our parts, by these our Letters Patent do Release His Majesty from the Oath made by His Deputies, as well before His Coronation in the Church of Warsaw, as afterwards in the Cathedral Church of Cracow: and we disannul it to all intents and purposes, provided that our Rights and Priviledges in all things be preserv'd, and that this Act may not prejudice a Free Election, our Laws and Liberties, nor be drawn into a Precedent. In Confirmation of the Premises we have affix'd our Hands. Dated at Warsaw, Sept. 16. An. Dom. 1668.

From hence it appears, that the Majesty and Authority of the King was Adjusted to the Liberty of the Senate and the People, and all Orders of the Kingdom, together with the King, were kept within the Bounds of Equity. So that if at any time the King should fail in His Duty, and aim at the Invading of the Properties of His Subjects, he was immediately check'd therein by the Authority of the Senate, who were Sworn to do it; and by this means the King of Poland depended on the Grave Advices of His Senate. On the other hand, the Senators, and all the Knights Reverence, Love and Honour His Sacred Majesty, and are ready to lay down their Lives and Estates for His Benefit and Preservation.

# ACCOUNT

Of the

*Rise of Socinianism in*

# POLAND,

*And of the Present state of*  
*that* S E C T.

**P**OLAND was at first Converted by S. Adalbert Arch-Bishop of Gnesna, from Paganism to Christianity; and has continu'd stedfast ever since for almost Seven hundred years in the Communion of the Church of Rome. It was Instructed in the *Romish* Principles by him, and has always paid a very great Respect to the Holy See, and endeavour'd to excel all others in their Zeal for its Interests. At present, since the Extirpation of the *Hussits*, *Berengarians*, *Picards*, *Anabaptists*, *Arians*, *Tritheists*, *Photians*, *Ebionites*, *Reactitorians*, and a world of such like Heresies, and lastly of the *Socinians* ( who, by the Countenance of some Noblemen, and the Toleration once allow'd, had swarm'd in Poland ) the

*Roman*

*Roman* Religion chiefly prevails in that Country. The King indeed Promises upon Oath, before His Coronation, to Protect the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*. The *Greeks* likewise, and the *Jews* have the same Toleration there, which they have in many other Countries. And as the Case now stands, that Old Proverb, which says, *Whoever has lost his Religion, may find it in Poland*, falls to the Ground, and is no longer true of that Kingdom.

But forasmuch as a Clear Account of the Present State of the *Socinians*, how they crept in, and how they were at last thrown out, cannot be met with in any other Author; I shall now give it ye as briefly, and orderly as I can.

This Pernicious Heresy of *Socinianism*, which by *Christians* ought to be detested above all others, which does not strike at any particular Article, but shakes and almost overthrows the whole Fa-  
 brick of our Religion, came out of *Italy*, and began at first in the State of *Venice* at *Vincenza*, by Forty Men. Two  
 of them, *Julius Trevisanus*, and *Franciscus Ruigo*, being taken, and Strangled at *Venice*, the rest, to avoid the same Fate, left *Italy*, and dwelt in *Turkey*, *Poland*, *Transilvania*, *Suitzerland*, and in other places where a Toleration of Religion was Allow'd.

In the Year  
1546.

The first who spread the Errors of this Heresy in *Poland* was a certain Dutchman nam'd *Spicillus*, alias *Fricius*, a Disciple of *Erasmus*, and well skill'd in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, under the Reign of King *Sigismund Augustus*, in the Year of our Lord 1546. He came to *Cracow*, where, according to the Custom of the Country, he was Treated very Nobly as a Stranger by the Mayor of the City. At this Treat there were several Noblemen, and among the rest, *Andreas Modrevius* the King's Secretary. This Man, upon starting several Doubts concerning the Ever Blessed Trinity, was the first that followed the

*Dutchman* in his Errors; who, by the Secretary's Means, induc'd the King Himself to be his Disciple.

The King being thus wrought upon by His Secretary, the *Dutchman* was soon follow'd by *Laelius Socinus*, who being Banish'd out of *Italy* Absconded at *Zurich*: where, when he once heard how successfully the *Dutchman* had spread his Heresy in *Poland*, he immediately takes along with him *Alicatus*, *Parata*, and *Ochimus*, three of his Associates, and comes to *Poland* in the Year 1551. He was Introduc'd into the King's Court by the Secretary, where he Infus'd his Errors into *Lismaninus*, Queen *Bona's* Confessor, and many other Courtiers.

Many Noblemen and Senators, of all Orders, were corrupted by these Men, and, at last, they drew in to their Party *James Sieninski* Palatine of *Podolia*, and Lord of *Racovia*, one of the Chief Nobility. He turn'd from *Calvinism* to *Socinianism*, and Built a Printing-House, and an Academy at *Racovia* for the Use of this Sect. This Town being very pleasant for the Temperature of its Air, for the Sweetness of its Situation, for the Lakes, Fountains, Groves, Walks and Meads about it, quickly drew thither *Faustus Socinus* Cousin German to *Laelius*, with several others.

Hereupon several Books were Publish'd, and spread over the whole Kingdom: and the Chief not only of *Catholicks*, but also of *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* embracing the Opinion of *Socinus*, drew every day great Numbers to their Party. Whereupon the Republick (for fear lest the Sparks already kindled should set the Whole Nation in Flames, and lest the Plague, which had Infected many of the Members, should, at length, destroy the Whole Body) by the Incitement of the Bishops, and several other Religious Orders, oblig'd the King *Augustus* to Banish *Lismaninus* the Queens Confessor



Confessor out of the Court, and induc'd him to issue forth the following Edict against the Growing Heresies in *Poland.*

## *The* E D I C T *of* King Sigismund *against* the Socinians.

“ **W** Hereas all Humane things are altogether  
 “ vain and unprofitable unless Govern'd by  
 “ the Laws of God, and establish'd by the Integrity  
 “ and Union of Religion: Therefore We *Sig-*  
 “ *ismund Augustus*, by the Grace of God King of  
 “ *Poland*, do Publish and Declare to all and every  
 “ person that is or may be concern'd, that We be-  
 “ ing inform'd by Our Counsellors of Church and  
 “ State, that several Heresies are every where  
 “ hatch'd within Our Kingdom, and that not only  
 “ New Doctrines and Ceremonies are Introduc'd,  
 “ but also that several of our unthinking Subjects  
 “ do openly profess and instruct the same: We  
 “ following the Examples of our Predecessors,  
 “ whose chiefest care and study was to Propagate  
 “ and Protect the Christian Faith, and to cut off all  
 “ occasion of Quarrel among our Subjects, and of  
 “ Disturbance in the State (which always attends  
 “ Dissensions in Religion.) And thinking this to  
 “ be the proper Duty of Christian Kings and Prin-  
 “ ces, do by these Our Letters Patent Testify and  
 “ Promise, That We, out of Respect to the Chri-  
 “ stian Religion, and out of Love to the Holy  
 “ Church, will Profess and Maintain, to the utmost  
 “ of our Power, within all Our Dominions, the  
 “ Truth and Sincerity of the Ecclesiastical Do-  
 “ ctine,

"ctrine, and of the Christian Catholick and Apo-  
 "stolick Faith, as it is professed by the Holy Church  
 "of *Rome*, and as it has been Receiv'd and Profess'd  
 "constantly by Our Predecessors. As for the Ene-  
 "mies thereof, as well Pagans, who are the Pro-  
 "fess'd Enemies of Christianity, as Hereticks, who,  
 "under the pretence of being Christians, and by a  
 "false Interpretation of Scripture, destroy Chri-  
 "tianity, and shew themselves to be alienated  
 "from the Faith, and the Religion once deliver'd  
 "by the *Apostles*, and hitherto Profess'd by the  
 "Roman Catholick Church: These We shall take  
 "care to Suppress, and to Banish out of Our King-  
 "dom. Nor will We ever admit into Our Royal  
 "Council and Senate, nor bestow any Places of Ho-  
 "nour or Trust on any who are tainted with Here-  
 "sy, provided We are satisfy'd of it. If any shall  
 "be accus'd before Us, We will take care, by the  
 "Divine Assistance, that the Statutes of our Realm  
 "shall, with the utmost diligence be put in Execu-  
 "tion against them, that so they may be for ever  
 "Branded, Stigmatiz'd, and Banish'd their Coun-  
 "try, unless they shall desire to be Reconcil'd to  
 "their Holy Mother the Church. The Ecclesia-  
 "sticks, together with their Laws, Immunities  
 "and Privileges, both Publick and Private, We  
 "will Defend, Maintain and Protect to the utmost  
 "of our Power. To all our Officers and Gover-  
 "nors We give it strictly in Charge; and Com-  
 "mand them under the Penalty of our Severe Dis-  
 "pleasure, that they be not Negligent or Remiss in  
 "Prosecuting and Apprehending such Offenders:  
 "Whereas on the contrary, if any of them shall be  
 "Charg'd before Us with being false to his Trust,  
 "and to Our Commands, he shall be brought to  
 "Condign Punishment. For the Due Performance  
 "of all the Premisses, We have Ingag'd Our  
 "Word to the Reverend Father in Christ *Nicolas*  
*Zier-*

“ *Ziargowski* Lord Arch-bishop of *Gnezna*, and to  
 “ other of his Bishops, and Our Counsellors; and  
 “ by the Oath of Our Royal Trust taken to Our  
 “ Subjects at Our Coronation, We design the  
 “ Whole shall be faithfully put in Execution. In  
 “ Testimony whereof we have issu’d forth these  
 “ Our Letters Patent, Dated at *Cracow*, In the  
 “ Year of Our Lord 1550. And in the Second  
 “ Year of Our Reign.

This Edict or rather Manifesto of King *Augustus* was interpreted by the Nobility to be directly opposite to their Interests; Whereupon several of the Chief among them began to stir up Commotions, and rise in Arms. And the Hatred of the *Romish* Ecclesiasticks against the *Socinians* increas’d every day more and more. Hence sprung many Murders, constant Fewds between the Nobles, and abundance of Bloodshed throughout the whole Kingdom. The State being engag’d in a foreign War could not then prevent these great disorders: but partly fearing a Civil War, and partly trusting to the Vigilance and Pastoral Care of the Ecclesiasticks for the present forbear’d putting in Execution the severe Laws of *Jagello* against Hereticks. But at last they work’d their own Ruin. For being by degrees divided into the Factions of *Servetus* and *Samosatanus*, they too far trespass’d on that Indulgence the State allow’d them. Several Statues of our Saviour upon the Cross were broken by the Students of *Racovia*, and several Blasphemies were utter’d in their Books against Christ; and for these things being severely check’d by the Decrees and Edicts of *John Casimire*, and King *John III.* all those who would not Embrace the *Roman* Faith were to depart the Kingdom within two or three Years. Since those Decrees of the King and Republick against the *Socinians* are still in force, it will  
 not

not be amiss to insert them here, and they are as follow.

John Casimire by the Grace  
of God King of Poland, and  
Great Duke of Lithuania,  
&c.

“**T**Ho’ the Being and Propagation of the  
“*Arian*, or as some call it the *Socinian* Heresy  
“in Our Dominions has been always prohibited by  
“Us; yet because the aforesaid Sect, which Robs  
“the Son of God of his *Præternity*, has by a strange  
“misfortune, fatal to the State, begun to spread it  
“self for a long time in Our Dominions as well of  
“*Poland* as of the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*: We  
“therefore reassuming and leaving in its full force  
“the Statute of *Jagello* our Predecessor enacted  
“against them, do by the Consent of all Orders  
“Enact concerning Hereticks, that if any such shall  
“dare to Confess, Propagate or Preach the said  
“*Arian* Heresy, or to protect and countenance it  
“or its Promoters, within our Dominions of *Poland*,  
“the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, and the Provinces  
“thereunto annex’d, and shall be thereof lawfully  
“convicted, every such Person shall forthwith ac-  
“cording to the intent of the aforesaid Statute be  
“Beheaded by our Captains and their Officers, upon  
“forfeiture of their Commission for the neglect.  
“But whereas We are Willing to extend Our  
“Clemency as far as can be, if any one refuses to  
“renounce his Heresy, We do hereby grant him  
“the space of three years for the selling off his  
“Goods,

" Goods, his Estate, and getting in his Debts. In  
 " which time No Assemblies of the aforesaid Sect  
 " shall be held, nor shall they undertake any  
 " publick Offices under the Penalties aforementioned.  
 " tion'd.

This space of three years was afterwards Contracted to two years, as appears by the following Edict.

" **W** Hereas in the Diet of the Year last past,  
 " 1668. the *Arian*, or *Socinian* Sect was Banish'd out of our Dominions by Us, with the  
 " Consent of the *States*, and Three Years time was  
 " allow'd them to Sell off their Goods; By the  
 " Authority of the present Diet We grant them  
 " Two Years for Selling their Goods, to Com-  
 " mence from the time of the last Diet, and to end  
 " precisely on the Twelfth of July, in the Year  
 " next ensuing 1669, which shall not be prejudicial  
 " to those who shall hereafter return into the Com-  
 " munion of the *Roman Catholick Church*.

But forasmuch as several Absconded in the Kingdom, and many others were Protected by the Favour of the Nobles, after the Foreign War in which *Poland* was engag'd was over, they were all Banish'd the Kingdom by a Severe Edict, which is as follows.

" We Returning due Thanks to the Lord of  
 " Hosts for the Benefits of the last Year, who has  
 " given us so many Signal Victories over our Enemies; and desiring by this our Gratitude to continue the Divine Favour towards us, when We  
 " shall have Banish'd out of our Dominions those  
 " who oppose the Præternity of his Son. According to our *Edicts* made in the Assembly of  
 " the

“the *States* in the Year 1668 and 1669, against the  
 “*Arian* or *Socinian* Sect; We for the preventing  
 “the Absconding of any of the said Sect within our  
 “Territories of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, and that  
 “the foresaid Laws against them may be put in  
 “Execution, do require all our Officers and Judges  
 “to be strict therein. And in the Great Dutchy  
 “of *Lithuania* we assign a Court of Judicature to  
 “Determine all such Causes.

By this last Law Publish'd and Ratify'd in an Assembly of the *States*, under the Reign of the late King, in the Year 1673, The *Socinians* were driven out of the Kingdom. How Miserable their present Condition is, and to what Dangers and Troubles they in their Exile were expos'd, appears by this Sorrowful Letter of one of them to the rest of his Brethren.

## A LETTER giving an Account of the Present state of the Socinians.

“YOu desire that I should give you an Account  
 “of our present Calamity and Distress, Alas!  
 “you command me to renew an unspeakable Woe,  
 “to run over again the Remembrance of our Sor-  
 “rows, and to make our Wounds, raw and ga-  
 “ping as they are, to Bleed afresh. My Soul shi-  
 “vers at the reflexion of those many Fatal Blows  
 “we have receiv'd. Not only my Mind, but my  
 “Hand and Pen shake at, and fly back from the Re-  
 “cital

“cital of those Misfortunes which have hitherto  
“pursu’d us, and whereof I my self was an Eye-  
“witness. We were, ah we were a happy Peo-  
“ple : and now the very remembrance of that Fe-  
“licity, which our Churches, for so many years,  
“by the Divine Favour did enjoy, does ren-  
“der the sense of our present Troubles the more  
“severe. So that we are loth so much as to re-  
“member, when, how, and by what steps we fell  
“from being what we were. And did not the  
“goodness of the Cause for which we suffer, and  
“the Consolations of this kind of Patience support  
“our Minds, it would be better for us, who are al-  
“most overwhelm’d with such a vast weight of Cal-  
“lamity, to forget all that is past, that so our pre-  
“sent Miseries might be born the more easie. Yet  
“because you are desirous of having some descri-  
“ption of our present Condition, we will give it  
“you, not drawn in its own proper and lively Co-  
“lours, but set off in the plainest Dress, and such  
“things as are but a trouble for us to insist long  
“upon, these we shall but lightly touch. Nor do  
“I think it worth the while to give you, in a long  
“train, a Catalogue of unknown Names, if the  
“Faithfulness of the Relators be suspected, upon  
“the account of the Intraged, or at least ignorant  
“Witnesses and Judges of our Cause. ’Tis a great  
“Enhancement to the Misfortunes of the Misera-  
“ble. But tho’ fortune has abandon’d us in our  
“Misery, yet we still retain our Integrity. It is  
“best therefore to shew you the Beginnings of our  
“Troubles, and when these are once known, it  
“will be visible to every one, how absurd and un-  
“just it is to discredit the Truth of those things,  
“which by the very Nature of our Sufferings can-  
“not be otherwise. The first Rise of our Trou-  
“bles we may date from the War begun in our  
“Country with the *Cossacks*, in the Year 1648,  
“whereby

“whereby several Inhabitants of the Country,  
 “and many of our Countrymen, especially those of  
 “us, who were borderers on the *Borissbenes*, were ri-  
 “fled of our Estates and Possessions, or at least suf-  
 “fer’d irreparable Losses. Upon this, long before  
 “the Law of *Proscription*, made in the Year 1668, I,  
 “with the greatest part of my Estate was ruin’d;  
 “and for the full space of Ten years before the  
 “Banishment was an Exile; and, with several o-  
 “thers of our Friends, were, as it were, cast away  
 “before the Storm came. Immediately after this  
 “the *Muscovites*, and within a while the *Swedes*,  
 “and at last the *Transilvanians*, made Incursions in-  
 “to our Country, which put the whole Kingdom  
 “into great Confusion, and not the least Creature  
 “in it was free from these Outrages. For their  
 “own Soldiers were so insolent, and the Auxiliary  
 “Troops of *Scythia* and *Germany* so violent, that  
 “they could neither escape by flight, nor repel by  
 “Armes their unjust Force. We were not indeed  
 “the only Persons who suffer’d by the Wars; but  
 “we alone were those, who, exhausted by so many  
 “Wars, and almost Expiring, were harrafs’d by a  
 “Peace more cruel than any War, at a time when  
 “others were at quiet: and by our Constant strug-  
 “ling with an adverse Fortune, it seems as if the  
 “former Wars had inspir’d a Spirit of Persecution  
 “into the Peace which follow’d. Altho’ in the ve-  
 “ry heat of the Wars our Enemies were so indu-  
 “strious, as to find out means whereby the heav-  
 “est Weight of the War might fall on our heads.  
 “For upon the Abdication of King *Casmire*, while  
 “the *Swedes* were Masters of *Cracow*, the Depu-  
 “ties, from all Provinces of the Kingdom, flock’d  
 “thither to adjust Matters with the Enemy, and  
 “their Armies, with their Generals, separated, and  
 “almost all Orders bought their Peace by Surren-  
 “dring. But that we might not share the benefit  
 “of



" of that short Peace, our Inveterate Enemies fell  
 " upon us and Plunder'd us, whilst we dream'd of  
 " no such danger, and were every one of us quiet  
 " in our own Habitations. This sudden Evil was  
 " the Death of some of our Party, and of some of  
 " my own Relations; but several, who, with much  
 " ado, escap'd from these Pillagers, fled to *Cra-*  
 " *com*, which was then Govern'd by a *Swedish* Gar-  
 " rison. Tho' they were forc'd upon this Flight,  
 " through Fear, and had long before this volunta-  
 " rily thrown themselves under the Protection of  
 " the *Swedes*: yet this was afterwards most unjustly  
 " laid to their Charge as a Crime; and no Course  
 " of Law was us'd in the Oppressing of our Friends.  
 " The *Romish* Mass-Priests, who were Arm'd them-  
 " selves, and surrounded with Armed Troops, set  
 " upon the Houses of Noble-Men, which they  
 " Plunder'd and Fir'd; and abus'd the Noble Ma-  
 " trons by Rapes, and all manner of Barbarities.  
 " The Supreme Court of Judicature, even before  
 " the Law Enact'd against us, exercis'd the utmost  
 " severity thereof against us in many sad Instances:  
 " and, among the rest, my Son-in-Law, the Patron  
 " of the Church of *Siedlicia*, suffer'd just before that  
 " Law was made. At last, after so many unlawful  
 " Prosecutions of Innocent Persons, came out that  
 " Law, an upstart Patroness of all those Injuries we  
 " suffer'd, and by an unheard-of Example, enter'd,  
 " as it were, through the very Jaws of our Liberty  
 " into the Body of our Laws. At first, indeed, it  
 " seem'd superfluous, since without a New Law,  
 " and contrary to the Ancient Constitutions of  
 " the Government, we were obnoxious, not  
 " only to the Injustice of Publick Magistrates  
 " and Judges, but also to the Lust and Violence  
 " of Private Men. But yet we soon found it Arm'd  
 " with New Instruments of Mischief, and such  
 " as not only gave a specious pretence to all the

“ unjust proceedings both of Judges and private  
 “ persons, but also such as expos’d us Friendless and  
 “ Helpless, and as it were bound hand and foot to  
 “ the rage and *Odium* of our Enemies. We have not  
 “ time at present to enquire how unlawfully it was  
 “ enacted, and how full of Absurdities it was. ’Tis  
 “ enough to shew how fraudulent and Cruel it was,  
 “ even whilst it pretended to Mercy and Clemency.  
 “ For we were by the Law constrain’d to depart  
 “ the Kingdom within three years; which time  
 “ was allow’d, under a pretence of selling off our  
 “ Effects. But the Benefit even of this unjust Law  
 “ deceiv’d many one, that false favour was soon  
 “ recall’d, the time being contracted to the space  
 “ of only one Year; so that almost all of us had  
 “ not leasure of disposing of our Affairs as We  
 “ ought. Thereupon very few could sell off their  
 “ Effects, and the greatest part of those who did,  
 “ were forc’d to part with very rich Estates to the  
 “ Purchasers at a very low and almost no price.  
 “ For the Injustice of the Purchasers was such, as  
 “ to take advantage not only of the urgent  
 “ Necessity and danger of the Sellers, but likewise  
 “ of the great want of Money, and of the Difficul-  
 “ ties they labour’d under, being reduc’d to great  
 “ Straits by the Losses and Devastations of so many  
 “ Wars.

“ I will give ye instances of this Nature. A  
 “ Noble Matron the Patroness of the Church of  
 “ *Pebrinen*, could scarce sell her Dowry worth several  
 “ Thousand *Dollars* for Three hundred Florins.  
 “ *Christopher Osrowius* a very Worthy Knight sold  
 “ his Estate worth Ten thousand *Dollars*, for  
 “ Three thousand Florins, that is for the tenth  
 “ part of its due Value. And he truly happen’d  
 “ on a very modest Chapman; for others were  
 “ forc’d to be contented with the fifteenth, Others  
 “ with the Twentieth part, and many receiv’d  
 “ nothing

“ nothing but a bare promise of Payment. This  
 “ oblig’d several of us rather to make over our  
 “ Effects to our friends by way of trust. But at  
 “ last the Houskeepers with a miserable train of  
 “ Children and Kindred were constrain’d to de-  
 “ part their Native Country. Some went to  
 “ *Silesia*, but the greater number towards *Tran-*  
 “ *silvania*; but neither of them were free from  
 “ the Insults of Robbers. They who went to  
 “ *Transilvania*, before they had arriv’d at their  
 “ Journey’s End, were Plunder’d of their Provisions  
 “ and Effects by the *Imperialist* Soldiers, who had,  
 “ as they say, private Intimations of their March  
 “ given them by the *Polanders*. This Mischance  
 “ together with the Storm of War which was  
 “ hanging over that Country, brought several,  
 “ who were return’d to *Poland*, into our Country  
 “ of *Prussia*: But the rest with a mind prepar’d  
 “ for danger enter’d into *Transilvania* poor and  
 “ in tatters: where, as the Reward of so many  
 “ Fatigues, Troubles and hazards, the Plague and  
 “ Poverty gave them entertainment. Is it there-  
 “ fore to be wonder’d that several in our Churches  
 “ were torn from the Faith and the Love of Truth  
 “ through the dread of so many Miseries and  
 “ Dangers? Or rather is it not more to be  
 “ wonder’d that any should continue constant  
 “ in their Profession? For our Present Persecution  
 “ did not proceed after an usual and ordinary  
 “ way: But to extinguish that Light of Truth  
 “ which shone upon us, *Satan* endeavour’d all he  
 “ could to shake our Constancy not so much by  
 “ the fear of Death, which is soon over, as by the  
 “ Torment and Punishment of a Life stretch’d  
 “ out to its full length in Miseries. Nor did the  
 “ Thunder of the dreadful Decree you make  
 “ mention of, whereby we were banish’d our  
 “ Country, so much terrify us, as did that severity

“ which within a while after was added to that  
 “ most Cruel Law by new Edicts of the Diet,  
 “ and which was afterwards exercis’d in many  
 “ cruel Instances. By this we were depriv’d of  
 “ all the Service and Assistance of our Friends,  
 “ and of all Hopes of Succour from our Country,  
 “ whilst those who succour’d us, or administred to  
 “ our Wants, if they were thereof found Guilty,  
 “ were us’d more severely than we our selves were.  
 “ For when any one of us were apprehended or  
 “ return’d, if he would be reconcil’d to the Romish  
 “ Communion, he was immediately Restor’d to  
 “ his Rights and Estate without any more trouble:  
 “ But if a *Catholick* or *Lutheran* should be found  
 “ guilty of holding the Least Commerce and Cor-  
 “ respondence with us, his Estate was unavoidably  
 “ confiscated, without the least hopes of Remedy.  
 “ Thus was the only Refuge which we had left  
 “ taken from us, and all those with whom we had  
 “ intrusted any thing were forc’d to be treacherous  
 “ even against their Wills; Nor dar’d any one to  
 “ supply our wants for fear of being punish’d.

“ Having thus laid before you the Misfortunes  
 “ which we undergo, what Man can any longer  
 “ make a question of it? Suppose every one of these  
 “ Exiles when they left their Native Soil, were  
 “ enrich’d with New Treasures for a Subsistence;  
 “ yet what by the Expences of so many Journeys,  
 “ and what by the Losses they sustain’d, these might  
 “ be well consum’d by this time. But if we con-  
 “ sider things well, we shall find that many de-  
 “ parted their Country Naked as Men that had  
 “ escap’d a Wreck: that the rest by Robberies and  
 “ the Expences of so many years lost all they had  
 “ laid up to serve their Necessary Occasions.  
 “ And now there was no safe Retreat remaining  
 “ for those miserable Exiles, but Troubles and  
 “ Dangers follow them wherever they go,  
 “ and

“ and force them to wander like Vagabonds from  
 “ place to place. At present a fresh Storm from  
 “ *Holstein*, and a fresher from *Silesia* threatens us,  
 “ since ’tis reported that our friends are to be  
 “ banish’d both these places, which God forbid or  
 “ at least turn to our Good. And now I begin  
 “ to fear that the World looks upon our Troubles  
 “ as of no moment, or at least thinks them so light  
 “ as we can easily bear them; especially since none  
 “ can imagine that there are no less than a Thousand  
 “ Families which stand in need of your Assistance.  
 “ But this account would not seem too high, if all,  
 “ against whom the severity of this Law is directed,  
 “ would suffer for the Cause of Christ and Truth.  
 “ But alas! A great many Housekeepers ( more  
 “ than we could Wish ) that they may not be oblig’d  
 “ to others for supplies, provide for their own  
 “ Safety by being already shaken from their Sted-  
 “ fastness, and by absconding in their own Country ;  
 “ Whereas there are but few , who are so bold  
 “ as to take upon them the Yoke of Christ openly.  
 “ Nor do those who are within the City of *Cruc-*  
 “ *burgh* and the neighbourhood of it dare ap-  
 “ pear, least they should be found out by the In-  
 “ former of *Breslaw* a Warm Calvinist. Many are  
 “ dispers’d in safer Places of *Poland* and *Lithuania*,  
 “ namely in the Upper *Silesia*, *Marchia*, *Prussia*,  
 “ *Transilvania* : and some in *Holstein* and the  
 “ Palatinate in *Manheim*. We all hold a mutual  
 “ Correspondance together notwithstanding the  
 “ Distance of our Habitations, as far as it is allow’d  
 “ us, and where we can, we administer to one ano-  
 “ ther’s Necessities. As for the Money lately sent,  
 “ it was faithfully and impartially distributed to  
 “ all who were in Want throughout *Silesia*, *Mar-*  
 “ *chia*, *Prussia*, *Poland*, *Transilvania*, and *Holstein*,  
 “ and reach’d even our Brethren at *Rotterdam* and  
 “ other distant Countries. In behalf of them we

" touch'd with a due sense of that favour return,  
 " our most unfeigned thanks, praying the Great  
 " God of Heaven the giver of all goodness, to  
 " powr down on your Liberal Souls the full streams  
 " of his Bounty; and that he who has promis'd  
 " that *a Cup of Cold Water shall not go unrewarded*,  
 " would repay you this Extraordinary Refreshment  
 " of your afflicted Brethren in full measure, press'd  
 " down, and running over. Oh how sweet a  
 " Smell does such a holy Sacrifice send up to God!  
 " How highly commendable is it in the sight of him  
 " who looks down from above, how deeply does  
 " it reproach the Delays and Niggardliness of o-  
 " thers. He loves the Chearful Givers: He desires  
 " nothing from the Unwilling, nothing from the  
 " sad and discontented Soul. He eyes the Mind of  
 " the Giver not the Gift. Nor would we be  
 " thought to be over importunate in desiring a  
 " necessary Relief. If they can spare a little out of  
 " their Abundance, who among us would desire to  
 " defraud the Poor of it, ~~since~~ *since* we our selves are  
 " likewise poor and would not be so cruel to those  
 " in Want, but we are ready to impart to them  
 " even that little which we have? But if any of you  
 " have enough and to spare, let him consider his  
 " own Condition as in the Presence of God. We  
 " Require nothing of any one beyond his Abilities,  
 " and we require not so much as what is Super-  
 " fluous, if it seems a burden. There is a God  
 " who takes care of our Wants and Necessities,  
 " and Laughs at their Preposterous Sollicitude,  
 " who fear, least that which they can give would  
 " not be enough to Supply our Necessities: as if  
 " our Industry and God by his assistance could not  
 " make up the Deficiency. I have but two things  
 " more to add, the first is to inform you, ~~that~~ *that* it  
 " was not any fault of the Distributers that the  
 " Wants of all were not reliev'd, especially in our

*" Prussia.*

“ *Prussia*. For many of them dayly flock hither,  
“ not only out of *Poland* and *Lithuania*; but also  
“ some of those who through fear or necessity had  
“ revolted to the *Romanists*, were faln of from  
“ them again. Of whose place of habitation we  
“ had not a certain Information, so that hence  
“ arose the Difficulty of not giving an exact Number  
“ of the Exiles. The second thing is to tell you, that  
“ I have a great many things to communicate  
“ to you, besides those which the Reverend *Spinocius*  
“ brought. In the mean time my Commentaries  
“ on our Saviours first Sermon I intend to dedicate  
“ to you, and will send it the first Opportunity.  
“ But I earnestly desire that nothing may be pub-  
“ lish’d under my true Name whilst I am alive and  
“ without my Knowledge. If any such should ap-  
“ pear in the World, ’tis best that *Julius Celsus*  
“ should bear the *Odium* of those things which may  
“ be offensive. Farewel best of Friends, and con-  
“ tinue to pray to God for me.

Dated *Coningsberg*, 1681.

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*Here follows a Petition of the Socinians sent some years ago into England, representing briefly their miserable Condition in these Terms.*

**B**<sup>T</sup> the Love of God, by the Bowels of our Saviour Christ, We earnestly beseech, and humbly intreat all and Every of our Brethren of England, that you would take pity on us most unfortunate Exiles, and with a ready and liberal hand Supply our Wants. If you have any Humanity to incline you to Pity, or any Christianity to excite you to Charity, here you have proper Objects for both. The Cause we suffer for is our Adherence to the Faith in God, our Abandoning the Superstition and Tyranny of the Papacy, and our endeavors after a good Conscience. Our Punishment by the Dictates both of Divine and Human Laws is most Violent and Unjust: And Our Banishment is most Cruel and Dreadful. They who cannot look upon us as Brethren, \* let

\* In the time of King Charles I.

them know that they were esteem'd so by us, and that their Countrymen were regarded as Protestants by Us and Ours, Nor did we ever fail by all good Offices and supplies to cherish and Support the Afflicted and Oppressed exiles. Let them at least esteem us as Exiles for the Sake of a good Conscience, and as such who prefer'd Obedience to God before all things. Who what-  
ever



ever we are, yet at least are good Men, and do deserve the Charity of Good men. Let them look upon us as oppress'd by the common Enemy, because we refus'd to turn Apostates, and to accept of the Inventions of men for the Commandments of God, the Pope for Christ. Let them look upon us at least as miserable and as Suppliants, who either must be Miserable, or Impious. Lastly let them with us reflect upon themselves, and consider this holy Expression of the Divine Psalmist, Blessed is he who considereth the poor and needy, the Lord shall Deliver him in time of Trouble. And this of our Saviour upon the same Occasion, Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain Mercy: And on the other hand that of St. James, He shall have Judgment without Mercy, that hath shewed no mercy, and mercy glorieth against Judgment. Now the God all Comfort and the Father of Mercies have mercy on us, and support us by his heavenly Consolation: and grant that you (Dear Friends and Brethren) who take pity on the miserable, may never again be Miserable, but enjoy all the Happiness you can Desire. This we pray for you as earnestly as we beg it for our Selves, who are,

Dated at Cruciberg,  
June 17. 1678.

Dear Friends and Brethren!  
Your Hearty Well-wishers,  
Stanislaus Orzelskiowski,

Gabriel Morstin,

Tolias Morstin,

John Stinckitinius,

With Twenty more whose Names I omit.

The Socinians being thus banish'd out of the Kingdom of Poland and the great Dutchy of Lithuania, they are now settled in the Netherlands, England

*England, Transilvania*, and from thence spread their Errors over the whole World. In the Ducal *Prussia* near *Coningsberg* they have at present a Church and publick Schools, being protected by the present Elector of *Brandenburgh*, contrary to the Laws and Privileges of the *Prussians*, who every year in their Diets exclaim against this Injustice of the Elector. But at *Racovia*, the Seat and Sepulcher of *Faustus Socinus*, after many Changes (the Printing house and Academy being first demolish'd) came at last by right of Inheritance to the Grand Daughter of *James Sieninski* Palatine of *Podolia*, and Governor of *Racovia*, who embrac'd the *Roman Catholick* Religion, and is still Living.

And this is the present State of the *Socinians*, of which none else can give a Fuller or Larger Account.

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A  
SHORT ACCOUNT  
Of the Late  
INTERREGNUM  
IN  
POLAND,  
AND THE  
ELECTION  
OF THE  
Present KING.

**H**AVING given the Reader (*Page 221.*) a short Epitome of the Most Glorious Actions of *John Sobieski*, late King of Poland; it will not be amiss to Compleat his Character, to take notice here of his Conduct, during the latter end of his Life, which has so little answer'd the Glorious beginning of his Reign.

That Prince entered into a Common League with the Emperour, the Republick of *Venice*, and the

the *Pope*, against the Common Enemy of *Christendom*: And notwithstanding the Emperour and *Venetians* carry'd on the War with so much Vigour and Success, as to give a fair Opportunity to the *Poles* to regain *Caminick*, and the Provinces the *Turks* and *Tartars* have got from them; yet, to the great Amazement of the World, the *Polish* Army did nothing at all, and was not able to Protect their Country against the Excursions of their Enemies, who committed unspeakable Disorders, and carry'd a Great Multitude of People into Slavery. This occasion'd Great Murmurs amongst the *Poles* against their King and was such a Blot as tarnish'd the Lustre of his former Actions. Several have Inquired into the Causes of so odd a Conduct; for, that Prince wanting neither Courage or Ability, every body thought that the Miscarriage of the Affairs of *Poland* was owing to the King Himself.

There have been many Conjectures on this Subject; but the onely who appears to me, well grounded, is that Princes Covetousness; and, after an impartial examination, this seems to me the only *Remora*, who stopp'd the Vigorous Resolutions that were Yearly taken. Old Men, generally speaking, are Covetous, the reason whereof is plain enough; but, besides this, almost natural Byass, the little Esteem the *Poles* had for Prince *James*, was a great Motive to ingage his Father to heap up Money, tho' to the visible Detriment of the Republick. That Prince seeing, as I have said, that the *Poles* expressed little esteem for his Eldest Son, and consequently having no prospect that he should Succeed him, meerly upon account of his being Born of the Royal Family; and on the other hand, knowing by Experience, that Money is the best Argument to recommend a Prince to the Choice of the *Poles*, resolv'd to Hoard up Money, and therefore left His Army unpaid, the Magazines unprovided, and lived  
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very Parsimonious in his House. The same reason obliged him to set a Tax upon several things that were formerly given *Gratis* at his Court, as *Passes*, *Petitions*, and the like. *France*, on the other hand, being sensible, that the *Turks* could hardly make head against so many Enemies, if all of them carry'd on the War with Vigour, made a good use of the Covetousness of the King of *Poland*, and by means of a Yearly Pension to that hungry Prince, disappointed all the Designs of the *Polish* Nobility, who could hardly bear, without Murmur, that *Caminiek* should continue so long in the hands of the Infidels.

A Violent and very Extraordinary Distemper King *John* laboured under, giving him a sufficient Warning of his Death drawing nigh, he tryed several ways to have his Son Chosen his Successor in his Life-time, but all in vain; for that being contrary to the Laws and Constitution of *Poland*, it has been rarely practised, and the King was not beloved enough to oblige the *Poles* to Act against their own Laws. Thus stood the Affairs of *Poland*, when King *John* Dy'd, which happen'd the 17th of *June*, at Nine a Clock at Night, 1696. The News of the King's Death was immediately carryed, by an Express, to Dardinal *Radziowsky*, Arch-bishop of *Gnesna*, Primate of the Kingdom, and *Regent* during the *Interregnum*; who made his Entry into *Warsaw* on the 24th of *June*, that is, Seven days after the King's Death, in a most Solemn and Magnificent Manner. All the Senators and Nobility then in Town Rode forth above a League from the City to meet him, with Colours flying, and Kettle Drums beating in the midst of an incredible Crowd of People. His Eminence went directly to the Castle, and ascended into the Room where the King's Body lay exposed in His Royal Robes; and having said a short Prayer, went to the Queens A-  
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partment to Condole her Majesty. He did the like to Prince *James* and his Brothers, and took upon him the Government of the Kingdom, calling a General Dyet to Meet on the 29th of *August* following, to Choose a Successor.

As the *Cardinal Primate* has made a great noise since that time, it will not be improper to give his Character in this place. He is of a very good family in *Poland*, and Son to the famous *Radziouky* who called in the *Swedes* under *Charles Gustavus*. He is a Man of great Parts, but somewhat obstinate. *Pope Innocent XI.* made him a Cardinal without any other recommendation but his own merit: the then King of *Poland* tho' his Relation nor the French King were pleased with his promotion, tho' time has discover'd that his Eminence is absolutely in the Interests of France. He went to *Rome* after the death of *Innocent XI.* and was present at the chusing of a new Pope which, fell on *Cardinal Ottoboni*. He lived like a Prince, and his magnificence and Liberality acquired him a great many Friends.

Upon the 29th. of *August* the Dyet assembled with the usual Ceremony, and after the *Mass* of the *Holy Ghost* had been celebrated by the *Cardinal Primate*, they began to talk of the Election of a *Mareschal* or *Speaker* of their Assembly, which gave occasion to many disputes. The Lesser *Poland* pretended that it was her turn to have a *Mareschal* chosen out of her Body, and Greater *Poland* put in the same claim, but was inclinable to wave it. The *Lithuanians* opposed it pretending that the Greater *Poland* was to take their turn now, that *Lithuania* might have theirs in the next Dyet, and their dispute grew so high that People were affraid the Dyet would break up without coming to any conclusion. The Bishop of *Posen* thought of a new way to put an end to the controversy, and came

to the Assembly in procession at the head of his Clergy pretending to allay their heats by the *Charms* of his *Benedictions*, but this provoked the Deputies who told him, in great scorn, they were not possest, and therefore had no need of his Exorcisms. At last the *Lithuanians* consented that the Lesser *Poland* should appoint the *Mareschal*, and the choice fell upon Monsieur *Omienisky* Lieutenant Collonel of the Artillery.

The next day this Dispute was over, news came that the Army had Confederated themselves for their own Interests; for the King, as I have already observ'd, having not taken care to pay the Forces, a vast Sum was due to them for their Arrears. They chose an Officer, called, *Baronowsky* for their General, and promised to remain united till they had receiv'd Satisfaction. In the mean time they resolved to raise contributions for their Subsistence.

This news put the *Dyet* in great Consternation, and likely contributed to the resolutions they took the same day, which was to lay aside all Objections against the Validity of the Election of the Deputies with this proviso, that none should have a voice in the *Dyet* till they had freely satisfied the Assembly about the reasons that should be offer'd against them. They repaired afterwards in great Ceremony unto the Senators Hall, and the Marshal made a speech to the *Cardinal Primate*, setting forth the deplorable condition of the Kingdom since the Kings death, returned thanks to his Eminency for his great care of the Publick, and declared that the Deputies were ready to concur to the utmost of their Power to all the Proposals that should be made for the Good of the Nation. The *Primate* returned an answer suitable to the circumstances of the time, and proposed several Points to be taken into consideration by the Assembly. 1. An Association of all the Members  
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of the Kingdom for the Security of it. 2. To draw up Laws and Conditions to which the future King should be obliged and to publish them that all Pretenders to the Crown might be informed thereof. 3. To find and apply a proper remedy to the Factions, Quarrels and Animosities, which had been so prevalent under the preceeding Government, and prevent the like for the future. 4. To provide for the speedy Payment of the Army, as the only way to prevent Mutinies and Seditions amongst the Souldiers, and for carrying a vigorous War against the *Turks*. 5. To repair the defects of the *Artillery*, which was in a very bad condition. 6. To settle a sort of Money that might be current all over the Kingdom to prevent the Inconveniences proceeding from the diversity of Coyns. 7. and lastly, That the Election of a new King might be deferred for some time.

Nothing material was transacted since that day to the 10th. of *September*, that there happned a violent dispute in the Assembly, whether the Queen should not be desired to remove out of *Warsaw*, for tho' the greatest part of the Provincial *Dyets* had resolved not to suffer the Royal Family to reside in the Place where the General *Dyet* was to Assemble, and that Prince *James* in compliance with their resolution had already left that City, yet the Queen would not conform herself to their desires, notwithstanding the advices of the *Cardinal*, the Bishop of *Poznania*, and the Palatine of *Plosko*, which put the *Dyet* in a great heat, some taking that pretence to leave the Assembly. At last her Majesty was perswaded to yeild unto their desires, and left actually *Warsaw* on the 18th. of *September* and went for *Dantzick*. This calm'd somewhat the *Dyet*, but a dispute between the *Cardinal Primate* and the *Marschal* of the Deputies was like to break up the *Dyet*; however it was agreed to enter



enter into an Association, which was drawn up by a Domestick of the Cardinal Primate, and read by him to the States. No body made any Objection to the first Articles; but when he came to mention the Liberties and Priviledges of the Clergy, the Grand Marshal of *Lithuania* bid him stop, and laid before the Assembly, in a very Pathetick Speech, the Injury and Affronts he had received from the Bishop of *Vilna*, desiring the Cardinal Regent that he might have Satisfaction given him. The Grand Marshal of the Crown made likewise great Complaints against the Bishop of *Culm*, for having Publish'd Libels against him to blemish his Reputation. The Cardinal Answer'd them, That as the Spiritual State could not Judge the Temporal, neither could the Secular give Laws to the Ecclesiastick; and that it was to be left to the Pope to Punish the Proceedings of the Bishops, which was Agreed to on both sides.

This Point being thus over, the Act of Association was Read on; but when they came to the Point of Reconciliation, between those, who being Christians, yet do not Agree in some Matters of Religion; one of the Deputies made some Exceptions, and it was agreed, That all things should remain, as to that Point, as they had done, during the *Interregnums* of *Casimir* and *Michael*.

The Disputes about Fixing the time of the Election of a New King was more considerable; many of the Deputies insisting, That the Deploable Condition of the Republick required a Speedy Choice; but the other Party being Swayed by a Private Interest, was Stronger; and, upon a Fair Pretence, the Election was deferr'd to the 15th of May, 1697, and it was agreed that it should be done in the Open Field, by all the Nobility Summon'd together, as at the Election of *Michael Wielehowsky*, and that whoever should Propose a Native  
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of the Kingdom, should be look'd upon as an Enemy of his Country.

This being Concluded, and the Act of Association drawn up, the Deputies met again upon the First of *October*, and some of them demanded, that the said Act might be Read again; but this was Opposed by the Cardinal Primate; saying, That a Second Reading would only create New Cavils, and so Sign'd it immediately, with most of the Deputies, and the rest did the like afterwards. That Association contains many Articles, the Principal whereof are the following.

1. We will keep our selves firmly to the *Roman* Religion, and will not Elect any one for King who shall not make Profession of the same Religion.
2. We will prevent as much as in us lies all Divisions and Misunderstandings which may grow among the Members of the Republick; nor will we enter into any secret Practices against the Liberty of the Election, or which tend to the advancing any one to the Throne, or Acknowledge him for King, unless he has been freely Elected by Free Voices, and by Unanimous Consent, and has the General Approbation. On the contrary, we will look upon as Enemies to this Country, all those who shall acknowledge for King any Person who has not been Chosen after the said manner.
3. To this purpose the Archbishop of *Gnesna* shall not Proclaim any one for King, unless he has first demanded of the Deputies *Three times*, one after another, whether they are Content with his Election.
4. Though there may be in the Republick a Person capable to Wear the Crown with Honour, nevertheless, to avoid the Troubles that might arise from the Advancement of a Native of *Poland* to the Throne, the Deputies of the Lesser *Dyets* shall bring along with them Instructions, in reference to this particular Point,

Point, *That every Native of the Country shall be excluded from the Crown.* Therefore the States In-  
 gage themselves, by this Association, to look upon  
 every Native of this Country, who shall Aspire to  
 the Crown, as a *Publick Enemy*, and likewise all such  
 as shall Acknowledge him for their King. 5. If any  
 Forreign Potentate, or Grandee of *Poland*, shall en-  
 deavour to Advance any one to the Throne by Foul  
 or Unlawful Means, to the Destruction of the Privi-  
 ledges and Immunities of their Country, the States  
 shall Unite themselves from this time forward a-  
 gainst all such Potentates, and Promise Joyntly to  
 venture their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of their  
 Liberties. 6. We will preserve an Inviolable  
 Peace with those who Profess a Religion different  
 from that of the Kingdom, and every one shall be  
 maintained in their Rights and Priviledges, except  
 the *Quakers* and *Menmonites*. 7. The time of the  
 Election is fixed from the 15<sup>th</sup> of *May*, to the 26<sup>th</sup>  
 of *June* inclusively. 8. The Pretensions of the  
 Royal Family shall be remitted to the *Dyet* for the  
 Election. 9. The usual Place appointed for the  
 Election between *Warsaw* and *Waba*, shall be Forti-  
 fy'd according to Custom; there shall be Erected  
 a Building for the Deputies, and all requisite Pre-  
 parations taken for the Security of their Persons,  
 either going in, or coming out. 10. Whereas the  
 Army has entred into a Confederacy, for want of  
 Pay, and that it is necessary that their Association  
 should be broken, we not only Promise them a  
 speedy Payment, but Authorize the Particular *Dy-  
 ets* to find out necessary Funds for that purpose.  
 11. Because the New Regulation, drawn up for  
 the Charge of the Artillery, is not sufficient, the  
 Treasurer of the Crown shall supply what is want-  
 ing, by vertue of the Establishment made in the  
 Year 1659. 12. The Cardinal shall, during his  
 Regency, Choose, for his Counsellors, some of the

Senate and Nobility. Lastly, Deputies shall be Chosen to appoint good Winter Quarters to such of the Souldiers, as shall give Obedience to the Crown General, and to Pay them what is their Due; to Reckon with the Army, and Regulate all Affairs which concern the Salt-Mines.

Deputies were immediately sent to the Army, to endeavour to break the Union, and oblige them to return to the Obedience of Count *Jablonowsky* Marshal of the Crown. They offered to Pay their Arrears, provided they would Disunite themselves: But they returned Answer, That though they should receive full Satisfaction upon their Demands, they would not break off their Confederacy before the Election of a New King: Whereupon the Treaty broke off, and the Deputies of the Republick retir'd to *Leopold*, where they made a Solemn Protestation against the Proceedings of the Army; which being sent to the Primate, was Printed and Dispersed into all the Provinces of the Kingdom, to let them see they had left no Stone unturn'd to bring the Rebels to the Obedience of the Republick. The Cardinal held a Great Council upon this Subject; where it was Resolv'd, That no Quarters should be allow'd to any Troops but those, who remained Faithful under the Command of the Crown General; and then, if the Confederated Troops offer'd to take up their Quarters near *Leopold*, or elsewhere, they should be driven out by Force.

This Resolution did not Discourage the Confederated Army; they gave an Oath of Fidelity to their New General *Baronowsky*, who caused a New Standard to be made, like that of the Crown General, having Painted upon it *Two Griffins* holding *Two Scimiters* in their Claws, with these Words, *Pro Patria* under one of them, and *Pro Exercitu* under

under the other. The *Tartars* being got together to the Number of 30000 Men, introduc'd a great Convoy of Provision into *Camienieck*; and having notice of the Confusion of the Affairs of *Poland*, made an Invasion into *Volhinia*, carrying away a Great Number of People into Slavery; But the Confederate Troops having pursued them, Charged them with so much Vigour, that they Routed them, and Retook a good Part of the Booty, and of the Poor People design'd for Captivity.

The *Lithuanians* had Confederated themselves as well as the *Poles*, and had refused the same offers, which exasperated Prince *Sapieha* their General to such a degree, that he undertook to Reduce them to their Duty by Force; but the Confederates defended themselves with so much Bravery, that Prince *Sapieha* was forced to return with considerable Loss. This Disgrace put him upon Negotiations, and having gained Monsieur *Crispin* Vayvode of *VVitepsk*, one of the Chiefs of the Army, the rest followed his Example, and the *Lithuanian* Army returned to their Duty upon the following Conditions. 1. That there should be a Perpetual Amnesty for all that had been done to that very instant. 2. That the Prince should forthwith Pay them the one half of their Arrears, due from the Republick, out of his own Revenues. 3. That the General should Promise, upon his Honour, not to Molest any one of the Fraternity, from the Highest Officer to the Meanest Souldier. 4. That on their side they should ingage, by an Authentick Writing, immediately to quit the Confederacy into which they were entered. 5. And to submit themselves to the Grand Marshal, and obey his Orders. 6. And lastly, That for the future they should never enter into any other Confederacy. This Treaty was executed on the 27th of *November*, and all the Officers and Soldiers made their Submission to Prince *Sapieha*.

This Reunion of the *Lithuanians* weakned very much the Confederated Troops, and disposed them to hearken to some new Terms that were offer'd them sometime after, and to return to the Obedience of their former General, as it will be hereafter mention'd.

All the World was surpris'd at the Proceedings of the *Poles*; and few would have thought that the miserable condition of their Affairs absolutely requiring a King, a Private Interest would have prevail'd so far upon them, as to oblige them to defer the Election of a Successor to *Sobiesky* till *May* next. The *Poles* may say what they please, to justify this Resolution, all their Reasons are but a thin Varnish over a Private Sordid Interest which Ruled them; for, the true Grounds of this Delay was, only to give time to many Princes to put in for their Crown, and make an Interest with them to obtain it, which cannot be done, without squandering away amongst them Vast Sums of Money. This Consideration moved sometime ago a Grave Senator to Propose in the *Diet*, to follow the example of Cardinals, who Chose always an Old Pope, and, to set forth, in a very Eloquent Speech, the Advantage that the Nobility would receive from Frequent Elections: But he was Answer'd, That he was mistaken in his Politicks, for no Old Man would spend such Sums of Money he had spoken of, and therefore his Project was Impracticable. The Inconveniencies of Elections and Interregnums are so great, that 'tis likely the *Poles* would have long ago made the Crown Hereditary, in one Family, under a very Limited Power, were it not for the Consideration of the Money that several Candidates for their Crown must needs bring into their Kingdom.

In the mean time the Candidates began to make Parties; and, notwithstanding the Natives of *Poland*

land were Excluded, by an Article of the Association afore mention'd, Prince *James*, and Prince *Alexander* his Brother appear'd amongst the others who made Interest for the Throne. They had for Competitors, the Prince of *Conti*, Prince *Leir-is* of *Baden*, and the Duke of *Lorraine*; for the Duke of *Bavaria* would not appear, and order'd his Minister, the Abbot *Scarlati*, to Sollicit for Prince *James*. The Divisions in the Royal Family were very favourable to Foreign Candidates, but they were happily extinguish'd by the Reconciliation of Prince *James* with his Mother, and thereby their Interest, which was divided before, was reunited, and Prince *Alexander* quitted his Pretensions. The Primate contributed much to this Reconciliation, which gave occasion to believe, that he was not so deeply engaged in the Interest of *France*, as it was at first reported, and as it appeared afterwards. Prince *James* wanted neither Merit nor Money, and yet by an unaccountable Fatality, he was not much belov'd by the *Poles*, tho they had been Witnesses of his Valour in several Rencounters. It was thought that the Emperor would have Declared for that Prince, because he had the Honour to be His Imperial Majesties Brother-in-Law; but the Imperial Court was always upon the Reserve; and what hapned in the Election shewed, that the Emperor was Engaged for another.

The Prince of *Conti* is certainly endowed with Excellent Qualities; and tho he has not met at the Court of *France* the Encouragement or Reward he deserved, and though the Most Christian King has not thought fit to trust him with the Command of his Armies, yet all the World owns that he was very Worthy of that Great Employment: And most are of Opinion, that the *French* King was Afraid of his Capacity. Whatever it be, the



King of *Poland* was no sooner Dead, but the King of *France* thought of Promoting the Prince of *Conti* to the Throne; and the Abbot of *Polignac*, his Minister, in his Speech to the *Diet* that was in *August*, Magnify'd very much the Zeal and Affection the King, his Master, had always had for the Interests of the Republick; and gave some hints, to let them understand, that his Kindness was so Great, as to have Chosen a Successor to their King worthy of their Crown. This was not expressed in plain Terms, for it was not time to do it: but he began few days after his Cabal, and made use of such Artifices, to render the Royal Family Odious to the People, that the Queen was oblig'd to forbid him Her Presence, and to Complain of him to the King of *France*, who disown'd, in Publick, the Conduct of his Minister, though likely it was Approved in Secret. The *French* knowing that Money is the best Recommendation in *Poland*, the Prince of *Conti* was Perswaded to Sell, or rather Mortgage his Estate; and the *French* King Remitted Vast Sums of Money to His Ministers, which Gained him so great a Party, that the House of *Austria* thought it was high time to think of Preventing his Election, and therefore to redouble their Intreague.

If Merit alone had been sufficient to Raise a Prince to the Throne of *Poland*, there is no doubt but Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* would have carry'd the Crown; but His Highness wanting Money, his Party was so inconsiderable, that when the Election came on, they were not taken notice of: and as to the young Duke of *Lorraine*, neither the Great Actions of his Father, nor the Letter of the Queen his Mother to the Senate, was able to gain her Friends enough to stand it out against Prince *James*, and Prince of *Conti*.



The Winter was spent in Intreagues, and a great many Libels came out upon the Subject, some Writing for Prince *James*, others for the Prince of *Conti*, and others against both. The Nephew of Prince *Sapieha* was then at *Paris*, and having spent his Money was Arrested for Debt. The Prince of *Conti*, having Notice thereof, came himself to the Prison, Paid all his Debts, and gave him what Money he wanted to return home. This young Gentleman was so sensible of the Generosity of that Prince, and of the Civility wherewith he had accompanied that Service, that he Proclaimed it in *Poland*, and engaged his Uncle into his Interest. However, Prince *James* seemed to have the Stronger Party, till the Death of the late King of *Sweden*, which happen'd on the 17th of *April*, 1697. That Prince, who knew what Pretensions the *Poles* have upon *Livonia*, was against the Election of any Foreign Prince, but especially the Prince of *Conti*; and as on the other side, the Republick was obliged to have a great regard to the Recommendation of that Prince; 'tis believed Prince *James* would have been Elected, for many of those who appear'd afterwards against him, seem'd the most Zealous for his Interests.

The time of the Election drawing nigh, the Queen thought fit to Remove a Second time from *Warsaw* to *Dantzick*, to avoid the Troubles that were occasion'd by her Presence in the last Diet; and, in the mean time, Prince *James* with Count *Jablonowsky* General of the Crown, and all the Party of the Emperor did their utmost to Ruin the Interest of the Prince of *Conti*; and because they suspected the Rebellion of the Army to be fomented and encouraged by the *French*, the Queen gave a Great Sum of Money to the Crown-General to endeavour to break off their Confederacy, and thereupon a New Negotiation was set on  
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foot with the Ringleaders of the Troops, in which the Accompts of their Arrears were Adjusted between their own Deputies and those of the Republick, and all other Points were so far settled, that every body thought their Confederacy at an end; However, the Treaty broke off at the Instigation of one of their Officers, who spread in the Army, That the Crown-General had Declared, That he would Cut off the Heads of their General, and of some others: Whereupon they declared, They would hearken to no Accommodation; and *Baronowsky* Published a Manifesto, containing the Reasons of the Army for continuing in this Confederacy, and resolved to take up their Quarters in Great *Poland*, and Royal *Prussia*. The Deputies of the Republick at *Leopold*, upon Examination of the said Manifesto, Declared, That it was contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom; Adjudged it an Act of Rebellion; and Publish'd a Decree, by which they Declared the Confederated Troops *Rebels*, and Enemies to their Country. This Declaration frightened most of the Troops, and disposed them to demand another Conference with the Deputies of the Republick; and, in short, they made their Submission to the Crown-General, on the 11th of *May*, 1697, in the Great Church of the *Bernardins* at *Lemberg*. *Baronowsky*, Marechal of the Confederates Begg'd Pardon, with an Audible Voice, at the General's Feet, touching the Foot-stool of his Seat with his Forehead, and Kissing his Feet, under which he put the Standard, which he had Illegally set up. Their Articles of Confederacy were torn to pieces, which being done, *Te Deum* was Sung, and the Day concluded with a Noble Feast at the Crown-General's Palace, where *Baronowsky* and other Officers were Nobly Entertained.

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Though the Emperour had hitherto appeared in the Interest of Prince *James*, the Queen of *Poland* thought to Write in his behalf, both to His Imperial Majesty, and to the Empress; and much about that time, a Letter, pretended to have been Written by the Abbot of *Polignac* to Monsieur *Chateauneuf*, Ambassador of *France* to *Constantinople*, was dispatched through *Poland*, and did the *French* a great prejudice. This Letter was Written in the Year 1695, and Intercepted by a Party of *Germans*, so that it was brought to the Emperour, who thought fit to Communicate it to the Senate. The Abbot giving an Account in the Letter of the ill Condition of the Affairs of *Poland*; tells Monsieur *Chateauneuf*, That the *Turks* had no reason to be afraid of them, and quit their Enterprises against *Hungary*, to oppose a People, who, saith he, can do them no harm, because of their Divisions: And it contains some odd Reflections on the King, and the Crown-General, as if they had known, and been glad that he should serve the *Turks* as Spy. This Letter did so highly incense the *Poles*, that it was very much insisted, that the Abbot of *Polignac* might be compelled to declare, whether he had done it by his Masters Order, or of his own head? and that if he did it by Order of the King of *France*, he might be Expelled the Kingdom, as the Minister of a Prince Enemy of the Republick: but that if it did appear that he had committed that Villanous Fact without any Orders, that such a Punishment might be Inflicted upon him as the Laws Ordained for the Punishment of Traytors.

The *French* Ambassadour deny'd the Fact, and prepared a Writing to disown the Letter, and endeavour to prove, that it was Forg'd by the Enemies of *France*; but, as his Party grew so strong as to make him fear nothing, as to the Consequences of the Impressions that Letter might have wrought

wrought upon the *Poles*, his Apology was never Publish'd : which Silence has Corroborated all the Proofs the Imperialists Alledg'd to Convince the Senate of its being Genuine. The Abbot of *Cha-teauneuf's* Brother, to the *French* Ambassador at *Constantinople* arriv'd about that time at *Warsaw*, being sent by the *French* King to assist *Polignac* in his Negotiation, and temper a little his Eagerness and Passion, which had been like to prejudice the Affairs of his Master. This New Minister confirmed the Promise *Polignac* had made to the *Poles*, and added some others, in relation to an Advantageous Peace with the *Turks*.

The time of the Election approaching, the particular *Dyets* were held in the usual Form, and broke up with more Tranquility than was expected. The Nobility of the Palatinate of *Cracow* made an Act of Association, whereby they Promised upon Oath, mutually to assist each other, and not to suffer themselves to be Corrupted by any Party, but on the contrary to Procure and Promote the Common Good of their Country with Unanimity and Fidelity.

The number of the Competitors was not much increas'd ; for, besides these I have already mention'd, no other had yet appear'd except the Prince of *Newburg* ; but few days before the Great *Dyet* began, all the World was Surprised to see Prince *Livio Odeschakchi*, Nephew to *Innocent XI.* putting in for the Crown, for no body thought he carry'd his Pretensions so high. However, he was like to outbid all the rest : And that the Reader may know upon what account, it will not be improper to set at large in this place the Proposals he made to the Republick, which are as follows.

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" SEEING the Magnanimous Prince *Odescbalchi*,  
 " Nephew to Pope *Innocent XI.* of Glorious  
 " Memory, is one of those that have conceived  
 " an Extraordinary Tendernefs and Affection for  
 " the Most Serene Republick, as well out of his  
 " own Inclination, as an Imitation of his Uncle,  
 " he makes bold to be one of the Candidates at  
 " the New Election of a King. Not that he has  
 " any Design to Cross the Royal Princes of *Po-*  
 " *land*, no less Illustrious for their own Vertues,  
 " than for the Heroick Atchievements of their  
 " Deceased Glorious Father; or to oppose those  
 " other Pretenders to the Crown, whether Natives  
 " or Forreigners: But, if it should come to pass,  
 " through any unfortunate event, that none of those  
 " Competitors should be Advanced to the *Polish*  
 " Throne, and that the Magnanimous Prince *O-*  
 " *descbalchi* should be Prefer'd before all the rest,  
 " he would willingly submit his Person, and all  
 " that he has in the World, to the Most Serene  
 " Republick. And moreover, seeing he should not  
 " be Supported by any Forreign Prince, he should  
 " be Solely Beholding for his Election to the Good  
 " Will of the Illustrious *Polish* Nation, and will  
 " Bind himself, as a Testimony of his Acknow-  
 " ledgment, to the following Conditions.

" I. That he will Maintain the Laws and Sta-  
 " tutes of the Most Serene Republick, as also the  
 " Conditions that shall be Agreed upon.

" II. That he will, in no Manner whatsoever,  
 " Violate the Precious Liberty of the *Polish* Na-  
 " tion, but rather defend it, upon all occasions,  
 " with the Expence of his own Blood.

" III. That

“ III. That for the Payment of the Souldiers,  
 “ he will Supply the Republick with Eight Milli-  
 “ ons of *Florins* in *Polish* Money, before he set his  
 “ Foot in the Kingdom.

“ IV. That he will Redeem *Elbing* from the E-  
 “ lector of *Brandenburgh*, by Reimbursing the Mo-  
 “ ney for which it was formerly Mortgaged to  
 “ him.

“ V. That he will use his best Endeavours to  
 “ recover *Caminiek*, and other Territories the  
 “ *Turks* and *Tartars* have Usurp'd from the Most  
 “ Serene Republick.

“ VI. That to Discharge the Republick from  
 “ the Assignments that are usually allotted to the  
 “ New Queen, he will never Marry : or if the Na-  
 “ tion desires he should, he will accept of such a  
 “ Wife as they shall think fit.

“ VII. That he will take Care for the future  
 “ the Army shall be Regularly Paid.

“ VIII. That he will at his own Charges Found  
 “ a Colledge at *Rome* for 25 *Polish* Gentlemen, and  
 “ as many *Lithuanians*, with a sufficient Revenue  
 “ for their Maintenance according to their Qua-  
 “ lity.

“ IX. That if he comes to Die without Issue,  
 “ the Republick shall be the Sole Heirefs of all  
 “ his Estate of Money and Lands, as also of all  
 “ his Rich and Costly Moveables.

“ X. For the Performance of all these Promi-  
 “ ses, he is ready to ingage, by an Authentick  
 “ Act,

" Aſt, to the Moſt Serene Republick, all his He-  
 " reditary Lands in the *Milanefe*, as alſo the  
 " Dukedoms of *Ceri*, *Bracciano*, and *Palo*, the  
 " Marquiſate of *Roncofredi*, and the County of *Mon-*  
 " *tejano*, with all the Forts, Arſenals, and Braſs  
 " Canon that are in thoſe Places. He will Ingage  
 " likewise, all the Sums of Money which he has  
 " at Interest at *Rome*, *Naples*, *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Ma-*  
 " *drid*, *Amſterdam*, &c.

" XI. Laſtly, The Envoy of Prince *Odeſchalchi*  
 " to the Dyet, is ready to make it Evident to  
 " whoſoever ſhall deſire it, by Proofs which he  
 " has by him, and the Teſtimony of ſeveral Per-  
 " ſons of Quality, that theſe Lands, and Sums in  
 " Bank, amount to above Twenty Millions of  
 " Florins, *Polish* Money, beſides his Moveables,  
 " Gold and Silver, Plate, Jewels, Medals, Sta-  
 " tutes and Paintings.

Theſe are the Great Offers with which Don *Li-*  
*vio Odeſcalchi* expected to dazle the Eyes of the  
*Poles*; and likely he would have carry'd his Point,  
 had he not been Out-bid by ſome other Prince.  
 To this New Candidate I muſt add Count *Jabło-*  
*nowsky* General of the Crown, Prince *Sapieha* Ge-  
 neral of *Lithuania*, and Prince *Lubiomyſky* Grand  
 Mareſhal of the Court; but, the Event has ſhown  
 that they did Caball for Others, and not for  
 Themſelves.

All the Particular Dyets being Held, and the  
 Fort and Bridges, which uſually are wont to be  
 Built upon theſe Occaſions over the *Viftula*, and  
 all other Preparations being in a Readineſs, the  
 Dyet began the 15th of *May*, with the *Maſs* of  
 the *Holy Ghoſt*, Celebrated by Signior *Davia* the  
 Popes Nuncio. The Biſhop of *Ploſkow* made a Ser-  
 mon,

mon, wherein he Exhorted the Assembly to have no other Interest but the Good of their Country ; and to lay aside the Consideration of all Private Advantages, with a Resolution to Advance to the Throne the Person whom they should deem most Worthy of the Crown. The Sermon being over, they repair'd to the Place of the Election to Choose a Marechal, but they soon perceiv'd the Spirit of Division was more Powerful amongst them, than the Christian and Judicious Advice of the Bishop of *Ploskow* ; so that the Election of their President was put off till the First of June, upon Pretence that the Assembly was not Compleat : And, in the mean time Monsieur *Omienisky*, who was Marechal of the *Preliminary Dyet*, was desir'd to perform the Function of Marechal or President till another was Elected. One of the Palatines of *Lesser Poland* Propos'd to Enquire into the Authors and Abettors of the Confederacy of the Army, before they proceeded to the Election of a King, or of a Marechal ; but this Proposal, and some other of this Nature, put the Assembly into such a Heat, that the Marechal was obliged to Adjourn them to the next day.

The Choice of a Marechal took up the *Dyet* from the First of June to the 16th, because of the Two Parties striving to gain this Point, The *French* were for Count *Bielinsky* Grand Chamberlain, and the other Party for *Czartorisky* Son of the Grand General of *Poland* ; and because the President of the *Dyet* has a Great Influence over the Palatines, they perplexed the Affairs so much on both sides, that it was thought at first the *Dyet* would break up for want of a Marechal. At last, the Suffrages being Collected and Told, the Plurality was found for Count *Bielinsky*, who was thereupon Proclaimed Marechal. This was a Tryal of Skill and Strength between the Two Parties ; and therefore the Court of *Vienna* had Judiciously foreseen, from the Mighty Oppo-



Opposition they met with from the *French* Faction, that the Prince of *Conti* was like to carry the Crown, unless he was oposed by a more considerable Rival than Prince *James*, for then all other Parties vanish'd away. Therefore the Emperour made a Proposal to the Elector of *Saxony*, who was then at *Vienna*, to put in for the Crown of *Poland*, assuring him of a Powerful Assistance. The Elector being a Young Prince, was easily dazled with the prospect of a Crown, and accepted, with all imaginable Satisfaction the Proposals of the Emperour. His Religion was not so great an Obstacle as one would have thought; all his Doubts and Difficulties were easily remov'd in Two or Three Conferences he had, *pro forma*, with the Bishop of *Javarin* his Cousin; and all other Measures being taken with a great Privacy, the Elector took Post for *Dresden*, where he Arriv'd on the 11d of *June*, and having Muster'd his Forces, which had been drawn up, to the Number of 7 or 8000 Men, upon pretence of going into *Hungary*, Marched for *Silesia*, upon the Frontiers of *Poland*. All the World was Surpriz'd at this March; but the Baron of *Fleming*, who arriv'd at *Warsaw* at the same time, as Envoy Extraordinary from *Saxony*, having Publisht his Masters Design to Stand Candidate for the Crown of *Poland*, the *French* perceived that they had been Grossly Mistaken, and that they would have to deal with a Powerful Competitor. 'Tis to be observ'd, that the *French* thought at first, that the Elector was about to Disturb the Peace of *Germany*, it being given out, that he was Dissatisfied with the Emperour, and recalled his Troops from *Hungary*; and therefore they were like Thunder-struck't at the Proposals of the Baron de *Fleming*, which were as follow.

1. The Family of *Saxony* is so Illustrious, that Emperours of *Germany* have been Chosen out of it, and among others, *Otho III.* who raised the Duke of *Poland* to Regal Dignity.

2. The present Elector is in the Flower of his Youth, not being above 27 years of Age, endow'd with all Military Virtues, of which he has given sufficient Proofs upon the *Rhine*, in *Brabant*, and chiefly in *Hungary*.

3. He has Embraced the Catholick Religion, as his Envoy is ready to prove.

4. He has but one only Son, to whom he will leave the Electorate of *Saxony*, with several other Territories, so that he will be no Charge to the Republick, the Elector not seeking the Crown only for himself, but out of a Design of Advancing Religion, and Defending the Liberties and Priviledges of the Nobility.

5. His Electoral Highness will have no regard to a sordid and particular Interest of Vacant Preferments, but only to Virtue and Merit.

6. Immediately after the Election he will give Ten Millions, not in Paper, but in Ready Money to Pay the Crown Debts.

7. He Promises to take *Caminieck* with his own Men and Artillery.

8. He will Unite the *Ukrain*, *Walachia* and *Moldavia* to *Poland*.

9. To

9. To prevent the dangers of any War, where-with the Common-wealth may be threatned, he promises, if required by the Senate, to Assist the Republick with 6000 Men at his own Charge.

10. If the Exchange of any one of his Hereditary Countries, in Lieu of any Province of *Poland*, be more for the Conveniency of the Republick, he promises to consent to it.

11. He will Erect an *Academy* in *Poland* for the Instruction of the *Polish* Nobility in the *Mathematics*, and all Military Exercises.

12. He will reform the Coyn of the Kingdom, and Restore Trade, to which purpose his City of *Leipsick* may be greatly Serviceable.

13. The Frontiers shall be put into a good Condition, and Men kept on Foot in the Exercise of Arms.

14. The Republick has nothing but good to expect from the Election of His Highness; and the Pope's Nuncio, and the Emperour's Ambassadour will Certifie for him, as to the matter of Religion.

These Conditions being more Advantageous to the Republick than any that had been yet made, 'tis not to be wonder'd at, if so Great a Party of *Polanders* gave their Voice for the Elector of *Saxony*; though he had not time enough to purchase a Party with Money. The *Pope's* Nuntio Answer'd, That his Religion ought not to be an Obstacle to his Election, seeing he had Imbrac'd the Catholick Faith, as it appeared by a Certificate under the Hand and

Seal of the Bishop of *Javarin* which he knew. The Bishop of *Passau*, Ambassador of the Emperour, appeared publickly for His Electoral Highness; and, in short, his *Party* grew, in few days, so strong, as to exceed the *French*, as we are going to Mention.

The Election of a Mareschal, and some other Preliminary things took up the *Dyet* till the 20th of *June*; the *Pope's* Nuncio had publick Audience that day; and the next day the Emperour's Ambassador had his; the 22d the *French* Ambassador was heard, and afterward the Envoy of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; so that the *Dyet* could not go on with the Election of a King till the 25th. The Royal Family's *Party* made a Fair Appearance at the beginning, several of the *Palatinates* having represented to the Electors the Merits of *Prince James*, his Great Alliances, and several other things fit to engage the Republick to present him with their Crown: Others proposed *Don Livio Odescalchi*; but the *French Party* seemed still more Numerous. The 26th the *Saxon Party* grew stronger, notwithstanding the Intreagues of the *Primate*, who Rode from one Squadron of the Nobility to the other, Recommending to their Choice the *Prince of Conti*; but his Competitors had such a Majority, that it was thought the Elector of *Saxony* would have been Proclaimed that day. However, the Partiality of the *Primate* was such, that the *Grandees* quitted the Field that day, without coming to any Resolution. They Met again the next day, being the 27th of *June*, and Resolved not to Separate, till they had made an End of that Grand Affair. The Cardinal did his utmost to bring the Nobility to the *Prince of Conty's Party*, but his Endeavours were in vain; for, on the contrary, a great many left him, and went over to the *Saxons*: yet, in Spite of all the Opposition, the

*Primate,*

*Primate*, at the Head of his Cabal, Ordered the Trumpets to Sound, and Proclaimed the Prince of *Conti*; and repairing, with all the haste he could to *St. John's Church*, caused the Doors to be shut, and Sung *Te Deum* in the Dark. The Cardinal having left the Field, the *Mareschal of the Crown*, the *Crown-General*, and the Heads of the Parties of *Saxony*, and *Prince James*, Protested against the Irregular and Violent Way of proceeding of the *Primate*, as contrary to the Laws and Freedom of Election; and having United themselves, they proceeded to Collect the Suffrages in a Legal Way, and afterwards *Friderick Augustus* Elector of *Saxony* was Proclaimed King by the Bishop of *Cujavia*, who immediately repair'd to the Great Church in *Warsaw*, with the *Saxon Party*, where he caused *Te Deum* to be Sung, with the Usual Ceremonies. The 28th they repair'd again into the Field, and sent for the Cardinal, who refus'd to come; and thereupon they sent for the *Baron de Fleming*, to Treat with him about the *Pacta Conventa*, and the Royal Diploma was order'd to be prepar'd. The Grand General caused an Act to be drawn up, and Signed in the Field, whereby it Appeared, that there were but 80 Standards (or rather Squadrons) for the Prince of *Conti*, whereas there were 250 for the Elector of *Saxony*.

The Envoys of the other Competitors extreamly blamed the Conduct of the Cardinal *Primate*, for refusing so much as to Propose any of their Masters to the Republick, and for his Concealing a Letter from the *Czar of Muscovy*, in Favour of *Prince James*, containing an Express Clause, That *Poland* must expect a Declaration of War so soon as they have Elected the Prince of *Conti*. 'Tis certain, that the Partiality of this *Prelate* can hardly be match'd; for had he been ruled by the Interest

of the Republick, as he ought to have been, he would have Declared for the Elector of *Saxony*, as being the most Advantageous Choice the *Poles* could have made, considering the Riches and Valour of that Prince, who is able of Himself to Support the Crown of *Poland*, and Restore it to its former Dignity.

The *Paſſa Conventa* being Drawn up, the Baron *de Fleming* repair'd in great Splendor on the 13<sup>th</sup> of *July*, to the Great Church in *Warsaw*, and Swore to them in his Maſter's Name. They were likewise Subſcribed by moſt of the Nobility and Senators. The Reader will find an Account in the foregoing Chapters of the *Paſſa Conventa*, and an Abstract of the moſt Principal Articles thereof; however, I think fit to Inſert at Large in this place the *Paſſa Conventa* Sworn by the Envoy of *Saxony*, becauſe there is ſome Additions made to them by reaſon of the Circumſtance of Time and Perſons. Theſe Articles were Sworn by the King Himſelf at the Coronation.

1. The Kingdom of *Poland* ſhall be always Preſerv'd in its Right of Electing a King, ſo that it may never become Hereditary.

2. No King ſhall be Elected who ſhall not be Devoted to the *Roman Catholick Church*, and who ſhall not take an Oath conſtantly to perſevere in her Communion.

3. Liberty of Conſcience ſhall be Inviolably preſerved in its full ſtrength and vigour; and as for the *Greek Religion*, that ſhall be taken into Conſideration after the Coronation.

4. No

4. No *Presents* shall be taken from those who shall sue for any Offices or *Starosties*.

5. The Queen shall not Intermeddle with Affairs of Government.

6. As to the Administration of Military Affairs, the Presidents of *Vladislaus II.* and *John Casimir* shall be followed.

7. The present Alliances of the Crown of Poland shall be Renewed.

8. Endeavours shall be us'd to recover *Ukrania*, and to make a perpetual Peace with the *Muscovites*.

9. The Revenues or Money shall not be applyed to the particular Benefit of the King, nor shall any Money be Coyned without the Consent of the Republick.

10. No Foreign Forces shall be brought into the Kingdom without the Knowledge of the Republick.

11. None shall be Employ'd in Embassies but Gentlemen of Good Fortunes.

12. No body shall be Naturaliz'd but such as have done the Republick some Signal Service.

13. No body shall be admitted to any *Preferment* in the King's Household, unless he has first Served the Crown.

14. No Person whatsoever shall be permitted to enjoy any Petty Revenues of the Crown without the consent of the Republick.

15. No Person shall enjoy two considerable offices at one time, such as those of the *Mareschal* and *General*, but they who now enjoy any offices, shall continue in the Exercise of 'em, and enjoy the Revenues thereof without any defalcation.

16. The ordinary Order in the administration of Justice shall be preserv'd without any alteration.

17. The King, when he has retaken *Caminiack*, shall cause it to be fortified at his own charge, but after that, the Republick shall keep the said Fortifications in Repair.

18. The King's Guard shall consist of the Natives of the Kingdom.

19. If the King become a Widower, and has a desire to marry, he shall advise with the Senators about the choice of a Wife; and if he takes a Forreigner, She shall not have above Six forreigners in her Service.

20. Only the *Latin* and *Polish* Languages shall be made use of for the King's Letters and Orders.

21. The Laws called *Pacta Henricea* shall be observed in the Judgments called *Post curialia*.

22. All the differences that are now depending shall be determin'd with all the Speed that may be.

23. No



23. No new Custom or Novelty shall be admitted in the order of the King's Table, but the ancient Custom shall be exactly observed.

24. Places becoming vacant in the Intervals of *Dyets* shall be supplied in six weeks.

25. The *Militia* shall be so regulated at the *Dyets* of the Coronation that is to come, that there shall be no need of Foreign Troops, and Military discipline shall be exactly observed.

26. The *Salt* shall be tax'd and shar'd out in all the *Palatinates* according to the ancient Custom.

27. All Gentlemen shall have the freedom of the Salt and Mines.

28. The *Ancient Privileges* of the *Palatinates* shall remain inviolable.

29. The *Prorogatives* and *Priviledges* of places, Towns and Cities shall be restor'd, wherever they have been abolish'd.

30. All the *Priviledges* which belong to the Universities of *Cracow* and other Cities, as well Ecclesiastick as Secular, as also all the Articles which were promised upon Oath at the Coronations of the Kings *Henry*, *Stephen*, *Sigismund*, *Uladislaus*, *John Casimir* and others, shall be revived at this Election; which if it be not done, or any thing endeavour'd to the contrary of these Articles, then the Inhabitants of *Poland* and *Lithuania* shall be free and disengaged from their Obedience.

These

These Articles being Signed without exception, a great Embassy was appointed to go and offer the Crown to the Elector, who was already advanced to *Tarnowitz* on the frontiers of *Poland*. The Son of the Grand General of the Crown, ten Senators and seventy Knights, attended by above 2000 Gentlemen were appointed for that Service. The Elector gave them Audience in the Fields near *Tarnowitz*, under a very Rich Tent; and appear'd on that occasion with an extraordinary Magnificence. The Ambassadors and Gentlemen of their Retinue paid him all respect as to their Prince, and kissed his Hand; and there was afterwards a noble Entertainment. The new King and the Bishop of *Passau* Ambassador of the Emperor to the *Dyes* of *Poland* sat at one Table, the Ambassadors and other Persons of Principal quality were at another Table, and their Retinue at a third. After Dinner the King went with the Ambassadors to view his Forces that were encamped near that Place; and conferr'd the command thereof to the first Ambassador, who received it with all Submission. The Speech of the said Ambassador is so singular that I think fit to insert it here, as well to give an example of the Eloquence of the *Poles*, as to shew what opinion they have of their Crown, which they think, it seems, above all other Crowns of the World.

*Most Serene and Most Potent KING,*

“THE Most Serene Republick of *Poland*;  
 “which alone has preserv'd her Ancient  
 “Liberty, and which, after so much Blood as  
 “has been drawn from her own Veins, may be  
 “called the Wonder of preceding Ages, gives  
 “you to understand, by our Mouths, That you  
 “have

“ have been Elected by our Free Suffrages, KING  
“ of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, Russia,  
“ Prussia, Massovia, Samogittia, Kiovia, Volbi-  
“ nia, Podolia, Polaquia, Livonia, Smolensko, Ser-  
“ via and Czernicovia. ’Tis upon you, Most Se-  
“ rene Elector of Saxony, that we have cast our  
“ Eyes, and whom we Imbrace and Cherish, not  
“ only for the sake of so many Emperours, Kings,  
“ and Great Captains from whom you are Des-  
“ cended, but for the sake of those Heroick Vir-  
“ tues, that render your Name and Reputation so  
“ bright and glorious to the World, besides an  
“ Infinite Number of Signal Endowments that  
“ make you worthy of a Scepter. Could our Re-  
“ publick mistake her self in so Noble a Choice?  
“ Has she not Chosen a Hero Belov’d of Heaven  
“ and Earth? A Hero who has Won so many Vi-  
“ ctories from the Barbarians, and who is laden  
“ with so many Laurels? Has she not preferr’d  
“ *Augustus* before all the rest? who, before he  
“ was Chosen to Supply her Vacant Throne, so  
“ well deserv’d to fill it by His Valour, Fame,  
“ and Eternal Honour? Certainly we could ne-  
“ ver hope for Comfort after so many Calami-  
“ mities, which we were no longer able to bear,  
“ but in expectation that your Reiga will put an  
“ end to them. You have Triumph’d, Most Se-  
“ rene King, over the *Turks*, Triumph now  
“ over the Hearts of the *Polanders*: Stretch  
“ forth over our Crown your Armes so well ac-  
“ custom’d to Vanquish the Infidels. The People  
“ who give you their Suffrages, give ’em to a Prince  
“ whom *Rome* looks upon as her *Defender*, and  
“ Christendom as her *Bullwark*; a Prince whose Ex-  
“ perience, Policy, Atchievements, and so many  
“ Victories, cannot but gain the Esteem of all the  
“ World. And who can better Rule a Nation,  
“ who

“ who has Subdu’d so many Countreys, and is still  
“ Famous for the preservation of her Liberty, than  
“ Your Majesty, Most Serene King, in whose Coun-  
“ tenance, and continu’d Course of Life, we be-  
“ hold that Courage, and every thing that is ca-  
“ pable to draw Veneration to Your *Person*? *Pol-*  
“ *land*, that has always been so Warlike, and  
“ Nurs’d up in Armes from her Cradle, shall be-  
“ hold You Imitating, if not Surpassing, the He-  
“ roick Actions of Your Ancestors, endow’d with  
“ a Martial Heart, breathing only what the Subli-  
“ mest Bravery inspires into your Breast, and full  
“ of Majestick Sweetness. She will admire Your  
“ Generosity, and all those Royal Manners, that  
“ must needs force the World to confess, that ’tis  
“ only in Your Breast where Majesty Resides.

“ Lastly, She will behold and admire You, not  
“ only for Your Natural Endowments, and those  
“ Rare *Perfections* You have Acquir’d in Your Il-  
“ lustrious Family, and in Climates where Your  
“ Valour has been signaliz’d but for Your Imbra-  
“ cing our Religion. This is that Light which  
“ renders Heaven Serene, and dissipates those  
“ Clouds and Tempests which at first obscur’d  
“ Your Free Election. Most Fortunate Prince,  
“ You have Rejoyc’d the Holy City; You have  
“ paid Your Ancient Mother the Honour due to  
“ Her, and *Saxony* is become, by Your Change of  
“ Religion, a Thousand times more Illustrious than  
“ by Your perpetual Victories. By abandoning  
“ the Errours of Your Country, You have found  
“ Crowns amongst Forreigners. There were seve-  
“ ral Competitors, Excellent Princes, and of great  
“ Worth, who Aspir’d to the Crown of *Poland*,  
“ but none of ’em who had Heaven a sharer in the  
“ Contest. You only were the Person who began  
“ with God, and for Your *Premium* carry’d the  
“ Prize

“Prize of that Faith which You had Recover’d.  
“That thing once Confirm’d to us, we gave You  
“our Free Suffrages with all our Hearts, and have  
“Proclaimed You to Reign over us. We are Ig-  
“norant whether You will, or will not be our  
“King, but are Assur’d that You are Valiant,  
“Warlike, Affable, Pious, Catholick, and give  
“You our Hearts, our Prayers, our Tongues, and  
“all we have in the World. Our Republick,  
“now Your own, whose Fame is so far spread,  
“Venerates, Loves Your Person with an entire  
“Affection, and desires Your Presence, as one  
“whom she has Chosen for her King, or rather  
“as one whom God Himself has Chosen, and  
“whom we as Frankly and Freely Receive. What  
“We have done, not in the Dark, but in the  
“View of Heaven, this Day we here Confirm by  
“these Letters. We Invite Your Majesty, after  
“Your having been Proclaim’d, not by Tumul-  
“tuous Factions, nor by the Fury of Inconside-  
“rate Rashness, or that we had put our Crown to  
“Sale, but by the Unbyass’d Wishes and De-  
“sires of the People, who Invite Your Majesty  
“with a Profound Sincerity of Heart, and an  
“Ardency of Desire not to be expressed. Come  
“then, Blessed Prince, since God has so Decre’d  
“it, since *Poland* so Earnestly Desires it, since  
“*Rome* Rejoyces at it, since *Germany* Approves  
“the Choice, since *Europe* applauds it; since all  
“the World, the Barbarians only excepted, send  
“up their loudest Acclamation to Heaven in  
“testimony of their Content. Christendom is  
“preparing for Your Majestys immortal Renown,  
“*Asia* her Spoils, and *Poland* a Crown invironed  
“with Lawrels. May all Your Undertakings  
“prosper: appear in the midst of us and Reign  
“over us. And as for my self in particular, how  
“happy

"happy am I, upon the Frontiers of my Country,  
 "and at the head of this noble Embassy to give  
 "Your Majesty the same suffrages, which I had  
 "given You before in the Field of *Mars*. How  
 "happy am I to have been chosen to bring You  
 "the Tydings of Your being Proclaim'd. 'Tis  
 "so great an Honour for a noble *Polonian* that  
 "he could not wish a greater. Now then, after  
 "we have thus congratulated Your Majesty, we  
 "will return and spread the report of Your Fame  
 "amongst our Brethren. We will bless our  
 "selves for what we have seen, we will Publish  
 "what You are, and how great our Hopes in so  
 "Illustrious a Prince. Lastly, we will declare  
 "Your Glory among the Nations, and all the Earth  
 "shall be full of Your Majesty.

This Speech is full of very high Compliments,  
 for notwithstanding the Elector of *Saxony* is a  
 Prince endow'd with several good qualifications,  
 yet, I dare say, all the accomplishments attributed  
 unto him by the *Polish* Ambassador do very seldom  
 meet together in a Prince so young as his Electoral  
 Highness; therefore an ingenious Gentleman has  
 very well observ'd, that the *Poles* thought fit to  
 make use of these insinuating flateries to inform  
 their new Prince, what sort of King they desire,  
 what sort a Prince they expect he should be, and in  
 what manner they could wish he would deport him-  
 self amongst them. If this was their meaning I  
 must excuse their flattery and confess that it is the  
 best use that can be made of it.

In the mean time the Party of the Prince of *Conty*  
 concerted Measures how to Support their Election,  
 and the *Cardinal Primate* sent a Letter to the  
 Elector to compliment him out of the Throne;  
 but the Letter being directed to the Elector of  
*Saxony*

Saxony without mentioning King *Elect* of Poland, it was sent back without being open'd. The design of that Letter was to represent to his Electoral Highness that the Prince of *Conty* had been Unanimously chosen by the Nobility, whereas his Election was only supported by some few Men, and therefore they hoped from the Justice of his Electoral Highness that he would not trouble their Free Election. They protest to have a great respect for his Heroical Virtues, but that it was never their intention to Burthen his Serenity with the Publick Government of their Kingdom whilst he was so Gloriously employ'd against the Common Enemy.

This Artifice having not succeeded as they expected, they made a Protestation on the 25<sup>th</sup>. of July against all that should be done by the Party of Saxony, but by Name against *Stanislaus*, *Jablonsky*, *Castelan*, and *Felix Potosky* Palatine of *Cracavia* Grand General and Inferior General of the Crown, *Joseph Shuska* Castellan of *Vilna* Inferior General of *Lithuania*, *Stanislaus*, *Dabsky*, Bishop of *Cujavia*, and several others, whom they Charge with a design to overturn the State, which as they say, appears by their openly protecting the Promoters of the Confederacy of the Army, their delaying the choice of a *Mareschal* of the *Dyet*, and lastly by Electing against the Laws observed in Election, a *Lutheran* for King, notwithstanding the Prince of *Conty* had been Lawfully and Freely Elected, and Proclaimed by the *Primate*. They protest also against the *Pacta Conventa* which they presumed to draw up, and caused 'em to be Sworn to by a *Calvinist* Ambassador, the Sacrament being clandestinely exposed. This is the Substance of their protestation; but tho' they are so positive in their Accusations, the other Party, as we have seen, pretends

pretends to have done nothing against the Laws of their Country, but on the contrary charge the *Primate* and his Party with irregular Proceedings, which after all is certainly true.

The Elector of *Saxony* went the 28th. of July from *Tarnowitz* to *Picari*, where he went to Church with the Ambassadors, being received and complimented at the Church Door by *Monsieur Crispin* Bishop of *Samogitia* and Brother to the *Lithuanian* Ambassador, who carry'd the King Elect to the Place that was prepar'd for him near the Altar. There the King made a new Profession of Faith and received the Communion from the hands of the Bishop. After the Mass, he Swore to the *Pacta Conventa*, and then *Te Deum* was sung which was attended with the loud Acclamations of the People and other Demonstrations of Joy.

The next day his Majesty treated the *Polish* Ambassadors, the Bishop of *Passau*, and several other Lords in a Castle belonging to the Bishop of *Cracow*, where he made the following Speech to the Nobility Assembled to Congratulate him.

*My Dear and Good Friends;*

“**Y**OU have Chosen me to be your King, you  
 “are come to offer me the Crown, and you  
 “have brought me hither. I am come and have  
 “quitted my Territories and my Country for  
 “your sake; not to be a burthen to you but to  
 “bring abundance along with me, my Wealth,  
 “my Forces and all that belongs to me, to augment  
 “as much as in me lies, the Glory and Honour of  
 “your Nation, by Fighting against the Enemies  
 “of



“ of the Kingdom, more especially those of Christ-  
 “ endom. Be assur’d that my Heart shall be al-  
 “ ways Constant and Sincere towards my Faith-  
 “ ful Subjects, and that my Sword shall only be  
 “ imployed in the defence of your Liberties and  
 “ the Authority with which you have invested  
 “ me.

This short Speech was so kindly received by the Nobility that were present, that they made new Protestations to venture their Lives and Estates to maintain him in the Throne against all his Enemies.

From *Picavri* the King continu’d his March towards *Cracow*, into which Place he did not think fit to make any entry but pass’d on to the Castle of *Lopsow* belonging to the Kings of *Poland* within a mile from that place. He viewed privately the Fortifications of that Capital, which he found in a very ill condition, and therefore gave immediate Orders to repair and enlarge them. In the mean time the Bishop of *Cujavia* in the King’s Name, sent out Circular Letters for a general *Dyet* to meet at *Warsaw*, and the Cardinal Primate Summoned another to meet the 26th. of *August*.

’Tis to be observed that the Party who Chose the Elector of *Saxony*, impow’red their Ambassadors to agree with him about the Number of the Forces that he was to bring into the Kingdom, till he was in the peaceable Possession of the Throne, and accordingly, the *Saxon* Troops that were in *Silesia* Marched to *Cracow*, and Encamp’d in the Neighbourhood of that City, into which the Elector made his entry the 8th. of *August*, being received by the Inhabitants with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy. His Majesty went directly to the Castle, which had been pre-  
 par’d

par'd for his Residence during his stay at *Lopſow*, and called a great Council at which moſt of the Senators and Officers of State were preſent, where three things were Propoſ'd to be Conſider'd of. 1. What was fit to be done in relation to the *Dyet* Summoned by the *Primate* to meet at *Warſaw* the 26th. of *Auguſt*? 2. How to Pay the Army. 3. Whether the Mediation of the Elector of *Brandenburg* or any other Forreign Prince ſhould be deſired or accepted? As to the firſt it was Reſolv'd not to permit the ſaid *Dyet* to meet, and that the *Saxon* Forces ſhould for that purpoſe March towards *Warſaw*, unleſs the *Primate* and his Adherents did within a Fortnight, to be reckon'd from the ſecond of *Auguſt*, own the Elector of *Saxony* for King of *Poland*. 2. That the Caſtellan of *Culm* ſhould begin to pay the Army on the 15th. of *Auguſt*, out of the Moneys provided by the Kings Orders. 3. And laſtly, that it was not proper to deſire or accept the Mediation of any Forreign Prince, ſeeing it might be lookt upon as a Tacit Conceſſion that the Election had not been duly made.

The *Provincial Dyets* met in the mean time in order to ſend Deputies to the General *Dyet* Summon'd by the *Primate*, but ſeveral broke up without coming to any Reſolutions, and ſome others, as that of *Warſaw*, reſolved to ſend Deputies to aſſiſt at the Coronation of the Elector of *Saxony*, which was appointed to be perform'd on the 15th. of *September* at *Cracow*. An Envoy of the *Czar of Moſcovy* arrived at *Cracow* about this time to Congratulate his Maſteys Election, and offer him an Army to reduce the Rebels to his Obedience.

Notwithſtanding the March of the Elector, the *Dyet* call'd by the *Primate* met at *Warſaw* on the  
26th.

26th. being compos'd for the most part of Members gained by the *French* Money, and so soon as they were together, one of the Deputies protested in the Name of the Elector of *Saxony* against all their Proceedings, but the other drawing their Sabres he was in great danger of being Kill'd, and forced to retire for his Security, so that some others who design'd to make the same protestation held their Tongue, and left the Assembly. This irregular *Dyet* having chosen their *Mareschal* took upon them, to declare all those that should joyn with the Elector of *Saxony*, Enemies of their Country, and that their Estates should be seisd and Confiscated. They enter'd also into an Association ingaging to stand by each other, and maintain the Authority of the *Primate*. It was resolved also that the Elector should be once more desired to leave the Kingdom, and that upon his refusal, Prince *Sapieha* whom they chose General, should march to *Cracow* and oblige him to quit that place by Force.

The Kingdom being thus threatned with a Civil War, a great many Noblemen were for a new Election, which gave some hopes to Prince *James*, and oblig'd him to come *Incognito* to *Gurau* within five Leagues of *Warsaw* to confer with some of his most intimate Friends; but they saw no likelihood of Succeeding, considering the Animosity of the two other Parties, and the Presence of the Elector of *Saxony*.

The Elector of *Brandenburg*, who has a great Interest in the Tranquillity of *Poland*, offer'd his Medation; and there were several Conferences between Prince *Lubomirsky*, whom the Elector of *Saxony* had appointed his Plenipotentiary, and the Cardinal Primate. The *French* Faction had no other Design in their Negotiations, than to  
11 2                      hinder,

hinder, or at least delay the Elector's Coronation; for, though the Regent had call'd a New Dyet, to Meet the 26th of September, yet the Saxon Party were inform'd, That the Primate had sent new Expresses to hasten the Prince of Conty's departure from France, that he might Arrive in Poland before that Day.

This, and the Violent Proceedings of the Primate, in Seizing the Castle of Warsaw, and turning out the *Vayvode* because he was in the Saxon Party, gave a just and reasonable Suspicion to the King and his Adherents, that these Conferences were only an Amusement on purpose to gain Time, and therefore His Majesty, with the Advice of the Great Men about Him, resolv'd to proceed to His Coronation the 15th of September, according to the Resolution formerly taken.

There were Two Great Difficulties to be removed.

1. The Cardinal was in Possession of the Corps of the Late King, and the Laws of Poland Requiring, that it should be Bury'd the Day before the Coronation of His Successor; The Saxons were mightily perplex'd, and did not know what to do in this Matter.

2. The *Regalia* being kept in the Castle of *Cracow*, in a Place esteem'd Sacred by the Poles, under Four Locks, the Keys whereof are Committed to the Primate, the Great Treasurer, and Two other Senators, that the same may not be Open'd but in the presence of them Four: They did not know how to come at them, none of those Men being in their Party: but after several

ral Consultations, it was Resolved, That these Formalities ought not to prevent the Great Advantages that the Republick expected from His Majesty's Coronation, and that therefore the Obsequies of the Late King should be made by Representation, and that the Door of the Place where the Regalia were kept, should be broke open in the presence of the Senators, and some other Great Men.

This Resolution being taken, the King made a Most Magnificent Entry into *Cracow* on the 13<sup>th</sup> of *September*, which it would be too long to recite here; The Palatines, Bishops, Ambassadors, and the King Himself being on Horseback most Richly Accoutred. The next day the Funeral of the Late King was performed, and on the 15<sup>th</sup> His Majesty was Crowned by the Bishop of *Cujavia*, Assisted by several other Bishops, in the Presence of a Great Concourse of the Nobility, among whom were the Crown General, the Prince of *Lubomirsky*, and most of the Senators: It were tedious to repeat here the Ceremonies practised on this Occasion, and therefore we must Refer the Reader to the XIX<sup>th</sup> Chapter of this Book, which Treats at large of the King's Coronation. The Solemnity of the Day concluded with a Great Entertainment, with Firing of the Artillery of the place, and with Three Salvo's of all the *Saxon* Forces Incamp'd under the Walls of *Cracow*.

The next Day His Majesty being Cloathed in His Royal Robes, went, in Great Pomp to the *Town-House*, and being Set upon a Throne Erected before the Houë, the Magistrates came to Assure Him of their Fidelity, and Presented Him with the Keys of their Town in a Silver Dish. The

Chancellor, in the King's Name, Assur'd them of His Majesty's Clemency and Affection; and Read, with an Audible Voice the Oath of Fidelity, which they took Kneeling: After which they Presented, according to Custom, a Purse full of Ducats to His Majesty, who was pleas'd to Confer the Order of Knighthood upon some of them. All the People being about the Throne, a Gentleman who had the Office of Treasurer, scatter'd some Money amongst them; which Liberality was Proclaimed by Great Acclamations of Joy, and *Long Live Friderick Augustus Our KING.*

The *Dyet* which was Called some time before Met at *Cracow*, according to Custom; and, at their first Meeting, some of the Deputies of the *French* Faction made some Reflections on the Castellans of *Cracow*, and other Senators, who had advis'd the Hastning of the King's Coronation; which, as they said, ought to have been deferred till the great Dispute concerning the Crown was accommodated, to which, they said, the Primate and his Party were enclined; but they were Silenc'd by the rest of the Deputies, who would not hear such Discourses. The Contest about the Choice of a Mareschal went so far, that the Sabres were drawn, but at last the Matter was Compos'd, and the Starost *Minsky* of *Lithuania* was Chosen on the 24<sup>th</sup> of *September*, and so the *Dyet* went on upon Publick Business.

Some days after the Coronation the King held a Great Council of War, wherein it was Resolv'd to send a Detachment of His Forces towards *Dantzick*, to prevent the Prince of *Conty's* Landing, and another to *Warsaw*, to Secure the Place, and Disperse the Rebels, which was accordingly done, the King in ending to repair, in few ways,

to *Warsaw* at the Head of His Army. But the Primate having received Advice of His Majesty's Coronation, and of His design to March to *Warsaw*, caused the Corps of the Late King, with all the Artillery and Ammunition of the Place to be Embarked on the *Vistula* for *Jarreslow*, designing to retire himself, with the Marechal of the Nobility of his Party, to *Lowitz*, a Strong Place in a Morass, belonging to his Eminence. which he did few days after.

The whole Party was much Surpris'd at the News of the King's Coronation, for they did not think that the *Saxons* would have proceeded to it, because of the Reasons I have mention'd; however they were not Disheartned; and they Summon'd the Nobility of Upper *Poland* to Meet at *Lenovi*, under the Command of the Castellan of *Calish*: In the Lower *Poland* at *Zawickborst*, under the Command of the Palatine of *Bez*; but the *Rendezvous* of the *Lithuanians* was left to the Prince *Sapieha*, who was to have the Chief Command till the Arrival of the Prince of *Conti*, who was daily expected.

That Prince set out from *Dunkirk* the 6th. of *September* on board the Chevalier *Bart*, and Arrived at *Dantzick* the 25th. He sent a Gentleman to give Notice of his Arrival to the Magistrates, and desire a free Passage through the City: To which they Answer'd, That they had a great Respect for his Highness, but that the Elector of *Saxony* having been Crowned, they could do no more for him, than give him the Liberty to come ashore himself with his Servants alone, but not suffer any Officers or Soldiers to Land, or Pass through their City. The Prince was very much Mortified at the Answer of the Magistrates, but his Mortification increased much on the 29th of the same

Month, that he was an Eye-witness of their Proclaiming his Competitor with all imaginable Solempnity, which was a great disappointment to his Party, who thought to have had their Rendevous in that Place. They had also bought several Pieces of Cannon and Ammunition, but the Magistrates would not suffer them to be carry'd away, and forbid the Inhabitants, upon Pain of Death, to Sell any Arms or Ammunition to Strangers. The Primate came Incognito to Confer with his Highness, with Five or Six other Gentlemen.

In the mean time the King thought fit to send Circular Letters to all the Provinces of the Kingdom, as well to notify his Coronation, as to Answer some Calumnies raised by his Enemies; The Substance of those Letters were That his Majesty being by the Free Choice of the Kingdom Elected and Crowned King of *Poland*, he was concerned to find there should be any Persons so much Enemies of their Country, as to go about to Violate the Rights of the Gentry and disturb the Publick Peace: That he understood they Complain'd of his having Possess'd himself of the Castle of *Cracom*, and brought Forces into the Kingdom; but that he had done nothing therein but with the advice of the Senators and Great Officers of the Crown, and that the Troops he had with him were no more than were necessary for the Security of his Person: That notwithstanding the unreasonable Opposition of the Adverse Party, he had used all endeavours to gain them by fair Means, but the same not having had the effect he hoped for; his Majesty Places his Confidence in the Protection of Almighty God, and doe's not Doubt but they who Chose him King will be careful to maintain their own Honour and Liberty.

Immediately



Immediately after the Coronation the Castellan of *Cracow* was sent to the Army, who having receiv'd the Arrears due to them declar'd they were ready to obey his Majestys Orders. The *Primate* had sent some Deputies to ingage them to come over to his Party, but he having been inform'd at *Lemberg* of the disposition of the Troops, they did not think fit to venture to go to the Camp, for fear the General should proceed against them as Publick Enemies.

Thus stood the affairs of *Poland* towards the latter end of *September* 1697. and notwithstanding the Obstinacy of the *Primate* and his Party, one may reasonably believe that the Prince of *Conti* will find himself disappointed, his Competitor having many great advantages over him: for altho one would suppose, which is certainly false, that their Parties in the Republick are equal, yet the Electors Territories bordering upon *Poland*, and all the Neighbouring Princes as *Sweden*, *Moscovy*, the *Emperor*, *Brandenburgh*, &c. having declar'd for him, his Party must needs prevail upon the Prince of *Conti*, who has nothing to rely upon, but the supplies from *France*, which will be very uncertain considering the distance from *France*, to *Poland*, and the dangers of the Sea in this Season of the year.

The Reader doe's perhaps expect that we should inquire which of the two Elections is conformable to the *Polish* Laws, or whether either of them may be said to be so, which is neither improbable nor impossible; but this inquiry would be useles, for as things are now disposed, there is no likelihood that this Affair will be decided by the Laws of Equity. However we may venture to say that there

there were some irregularities in both Elections, but much more in that of the Prince of *Conti*, and that the irregular proceedings in the other, were chiefly occasioned by the partiality of the *Primate*. The *French* Party exclaim very much against the Bishop of *Cujavia* for having Proclaim'd the Elector of *Saxony*, but whatever they may say this Prelate is not to be blamed as to that point. 'Tis true it belongs to the Arch-Bishop of *Gnesna* to Proclaim the Kings of *Poland*, but this is to be understood when the Election is Unanimous, for if it were in the Power of the *Primate* alone to Proclaim a King, the Election would never be Free, and he might at that rate Proclaim whom he should please. It appears by the foregoing account that the Elector of *Saxony* had the Majority of Voices on his side, and this is enough to justify their proceedings, seeing the *Primate* and his Party ought to have Submitted.

Money being the only Soul that enlivens the Affairs of *Poland*, it were more to the purpose to enquire which of the two Competitors can spare most money, for let their Right be what it will, the first who wants money, will be in the wrong, and lose the Crown; but the Case is now different: the Elector is Crowned, and has a good Army of his own and needs not to rely intirely on the Fidelity of his Party. That Prince is certainly very Rich, but yet, his Purse bears no proportion with that of the *French* King, who having already spent so much, will neglect nothing at all to set the Prince of *Conti* upon the Throne. The Winter drawing nigh, the *Baltick* Sea will be Un-navigable, and likely none of the *German* Princes will give him leave to march an Army into *Poland* through their Territories, so that the prince

of *Conti* has nothing to rely upon but his Party, which is very precarious: for after all 'tis likely that the *Poles* will open their eyes, and consider that they have nothing to fear from *France*, whereas they must expect a continual War with *Germany* if this present King receives any disgrace, and is oblig'd to retire into his own Country; insomuch that altho they should beat him out of the Kingdom, the controversy would not be at an end, for his Dominions bordering upon *Poland*, he may invade them at any time.

These *Reasons* are so strong, that one would think they should have already prevailed upon the *Poles*; but their Mercenary Nobility is Influenc'd only by Gold, and does not care for the Publick Good, so long as they find their Private Interest in Intestine Divisions.

The Court of *Rome*, who had a great Share in the Election of the King of *Poland*, keeps now an exact Neutrality; but those Refin'd Politicians will soon Declare for one of the Competitors, and doubtless for the Present King, because of the Great Advantage they expect from the Conversion of that Prince to their Religion, which certainly weakens much the Protestant Interest in *Germany*.

The Long Continuance of the Prince of *Conti* in the Road of *Dantzick*, without offering to go on Shoar, is an *Ill Omen* for his Affairs; and seeing his Party have resolv'd to give him only the Title of *Protector of the Religion and the Liberties of Poland*; 'tis doubted whether he will Accept of it, it being a Tacit Confession that  
his

his Election was Illegal ; but if he does not scruple to take it , 'tis likely that he will make himself such a Sort of *Protector* as *Oliver Cromwell* was ; and , perhaps the *Historians* of this Age will say of him, in case he Succeeds, what was said of the Successor of *Julius Caesar* , *Augustus Arma, quæ in Antonium acceperat , in Rempublicam vertit* : And really I would not blame him for it , for he must needs spend as much Money as the Crown of *Poland* is Worth, and perhaps a great deal more. But I must give over Conjectures , time will soon bring this Great Controversy to an End.

The Reader must not expect here a Character of the King of *Poland*, this undertaking is above my reach, therefore I must break off my Discourse after having observ'd that he was Born *May 12th. 1670.* Second Son to *John George* Elector of *Saxony* and of *Anne Sophia* Sister of the Present King of *Denmark*. He has made several Campaigns on the *Rhine* and *Flanders*, and after his Brothers Death, he Commanded in Chief the Imperial Army in *Hungary* in the years 1695. and 1696. and has shewed on all Occasions an Extraordinary Bravery. He Marry'd before he was Elector the Daughter of the *Markgrave* of *Barcith* of the House of *Brandenburgh*. His Majesty is of a very strong Constitution and perhaps the Strongest Man alive.

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